



G. King Sculp. 1720



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PLUTARCH's L I V E S:

VOLUME *the* THIRD.

CONTAINING

TIMOLEON.	ARISTIDES.
PAULUS EMILIUS.	MARCUS CATO.
PELOPIDAS.	PHILOPOEMEN.
MARCELLUS.	T. Q. FLAMINIUS.

Translated from the G R E E K.

With NOTES *Historical and Critical*
From M. D A C I E R.

L O N D O N :
Printed for J. T O N S O N in the *Strand*.

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PLUTARCH

T I V E S

VOLUME THE THIRD

CONTAINING

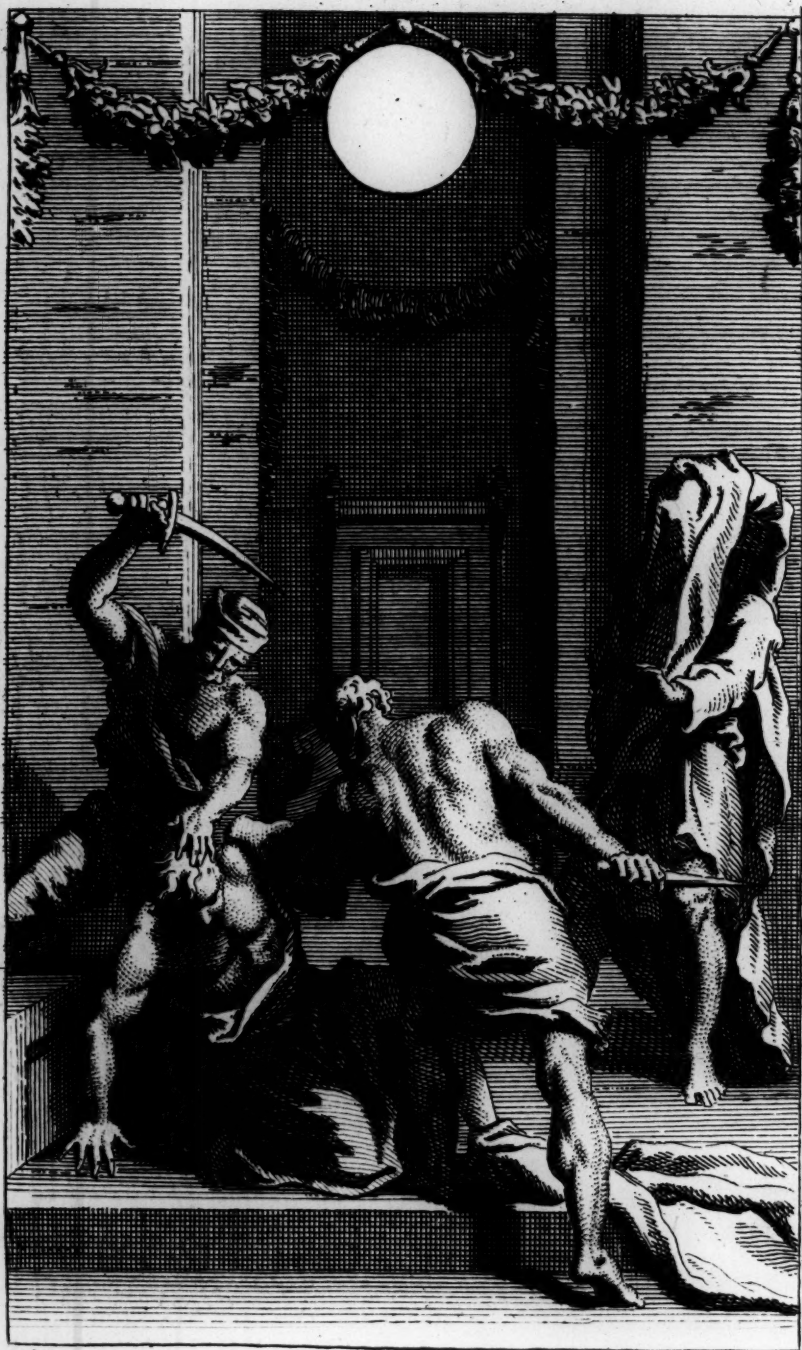
THE LIFE OF
PUBLIUS CORNELIUS
SCIPION AFRICANUS
AND
THE HISTORY OF THE
ROMANS



With Notes by
J. D. C. F. R.

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G. V. Guichet Sculp.



THE LIFE OF TIMOLEON.



THE Affairs of the *Syracusans*, before *Timoleon* was sent into *Sicily*, were in this Posture: After *Dion* had driven out (1) *Dionysius* the Tyrant, he was (2) slain by Treachery; and Those that had assisted him in delivering *Syracuse* were divided among themselves; so that the City, by a continual change of Governours, and a train of Mischiefs that succeeded each other, became almost desolate and forsaken. As for the rest of *Sicily*, part thereof was now utterly destroy'd and ruin'd, through a long continuance of the Wars, and most of the Cities that had been left standing, were seiz'd upon by a mixt Company of *Barbarians*, and Soldiers under no Pay, that were ready to embrace every Turn of Government. Such be-

(1) This was *Dionysius* the Younger. The History of this

whole Affair is very well writ-

ten in the Life of *Dion*.

(2) He was murder'd by the *Athenian Calippus*,

ing the State of Things, *Dionysius* takes the Opportunity, and in the tenth year of his Banishment, by the help of some Foreign Troops he had got together, forces out (1) *Nyfeus*, then Master of *Syracuse*, recovers all afresh, and was again settled in his Dominion. And as he had been at first strangely depriv'd of the greatest and most absolute Power that ever was, by a very small Party; so now, after a more wonderful manner, from an Exile, and of mean condition, he became the Sovereign Lord of Those that had ejected him. All therefore that remain'd in *Syracuse* were made to serve under a Tyrant, who at the best was of an ungentle Nature, and was then exasperated to a greater degree of Savageness, by the late Misfortunes and Calamities he had suffer'd. But Those of the better sort, and such as were of Note and Eminence, having timely retir'd thence to *Icetes*, who bore sway over the *Leontines*, they put themselves under his Protection, and chose Him for their General in the War; a Person hardly preferable to any of Those that were open and avowed Tyrants: But they had no other Sanctuary at present, and it gave them some ground of confidence, that he was both of a *Syracusan* Family, and had an Army besides able to encounter That of *Dionysius*. In the mean time the *Carthaginians* appear'd before *Sicily* with a great Navy, watching when and where they might make a Descent upon the Island; the Terror of which Fleet made the *Sicilians* incline to send an Embassy into *Greece*, that should demand Succours from the *Corinthians*, whom they did address to and confide in rather

(1) He was a Man of great Prudence and Valour, *Dionysius* the Younger had made him General of his Forces; with which he made himself Master of *Syracuse*, but had a Mind to keep it for himself.

than any others, (1) not only upon the account of their near Kindred, and by reason of the great Benefits they had often received by trusting them heretofore, but because *Corinth* had ever shewn her self an entire Lover of Freedom, and the most averſe from Tyranny, by the many expensive Wars ſhe had engag'd in, not upon the ſcore of Empire and Avarice, (2) but for the ſole Liberty of *Greece*. But *Idetes*, who made it the buſineſs of his Command, not ſo much to deliver the *Syracuſians* from other Tyrants, as to enſlave them to Himſelf, carry'd on a Correſpondence with the *Carthaginians* in ſecret, while in publick he commended the Deſign of his *Syracuſian* Clients, and diſpatch'd Ambaſſadors from himſelf, together with Thoſe which They ſent into *Peloponneſus*; not that he really deſir'd there ſhould come any Relief from thence, but, in caſe the *Corinthians* (as it was likely enough) ſhould, by reaſon of the Troubles of *Greece*, and thoſe Diversions that were given them at home, reſuſe their Aſſiſtance, he hoped then he ſhould be able with leſs difficulty to diſpoſe and incline things for the *Carthaginian* Intereſt, and ſo make uſe of theſe foreign Pretenders, as Inſtruments and Auxiliaries for himſelf, either againſt the *Syracuſians*, or their common Enemy *Dionyſius*, as occaſion ſerv'd; and that This was what he had in View came to be known ſoon after. In the mean time the Ambaſſadors being arriv'd, and their Requeſt known, the *Corinthians*, who were wont to have a particular Concern for

(1) All the *Sicilians* were not a Colony from *Corinth*, but only the *Syracuſians*, who were founded by *Archias* the *Corinthian*, in the ſecond Year of the eleventh Olympiad, ſeven hundred and thirty three Years before the Birth of our Saviour. This Iſland had

been inhabited by the *Phenicians* and other barbarous People above three hundred Years before the *Greeks* arriv'd there.

(2) For ſhou'd *Greece* be enſlav'd, it wou'd be impoſſible for *Corinth* to preſerve its Liberty.

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all their Colonies and Plantations, but especially for That of *Syracuse*, since by good Fortune too there was nothing to molest them in their own Country, but they enjoyed Peace and Leisure at that time, did readily and with one Accord pass a Vote for their Assistance. The next thing to be consider'd was the Choice of a Captain for that Expedition, and whilst the Magistrates of their City were nominating and proposing several Persons, that had made it their Care and Study to be esteem'd among them, one of the *Plebeians* standing up, happen'd to name *Timoleon*, the Son of *Timodemus*, who had not 'till then concern'd himself in publick business, and had neither any hopes of, nor the least pretension to an Employment of that nature; insomuch that the thing was thought to proceed from a divine Instinct, and that some God had put it into the Man's heart to mention him; so great Indulgence of Fortune did then immediately appear at his Election, and so much of her Favour did accompany his following Actions, as it were on purpose to recommend his worth, and add some Grace and Ornament to his Personal Virtues. If you regard his Parentage, both (1) *Timodemus* his Father, and his Mother *Demariste*, were of a Noble and Illustrious Rank in that City; as for himself, he was a mighty lover of his Country, and one of admirable meekness towards all, excepting that extream hatred he bore to Tyrants and wicked Men. His natural Abilities for the War were so happily temper'd, and of that excellent and even mixture, that, as a rare and extraordinary Prudence might be seen in all the Enterprizes of his younger years, so a strange firmness of Mind, and the most undaunted Courage did attend him still, even to the last Exploits of

(1) *Diodorus Siculus* calls his Father *Timenerus*, which I think ought to be corrected by this Place of *Plutarch*.

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his declining Age. He had an Elder Brother, whose Name was *Timophanes*, One of a different make, and every way unlike him, being indiscreet and rash, and corrupted with a love of Monarchy, by the suggestion of some lewd Friends, and foreign Soldiers, which he kept always about him. (1) He seem'd to be a Man of Courage, and to have a certain Force and Vehemence in all Attempts, and even to delight in Dangers, whereby he took much with the People, and upon that account did not only aspire, but was advanc'd to the highest Charge, as a vigorous and effective Warrior; for the obtaining of which Offices and Promotions, *Timoleon* did very much assist him, either by wholly concealing, or at least lessening and diminishing his Errors, at the same time magnifying and adorning whatever was commendable in him, and setting off his good Qualities to the best Advantage. It happen'd once in a Battel of the *Corinthians* against Those of *Argos* and *Gleone*, that *Timoleon* serv'd among the Infantry, when *Timophanes*, commanding their Cavalry, was brought into extraordinary danger, for his Horse being wounded fell forward, and threw him headlong amidst the Enemies, whereupon part of his Companions were presently dispers'd through a sudden fear, and the small number that remain'd, bearing up against a great Multitude, had much ado to maintain the Fight, and make any long resistance. As soon therefore as *Timoleon* was advertised of his Danger, he run hastily in to his Brother's rescue, and covering the fallen *Timophanes* with his Buckler, after having receiv'd abundance of Darts, and several Strokes by the Swords into his Body and his Armour, he at length with much difficulty oblig'd the Enemies to retire, and

(1) *Plutarch* does not say that he seem'd to be so; because there can be was a Man of Courage, but that he no true Courage without Prudence.
brought

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brought off his Brother alive, and safe out of that desperate extremity. Not long after This the *Corinthians*, for fear of losing their City a second time, as they had done once before by means of their Associates, made a Decree to entertain 400 Strangers for the security thereof, and gave *Timophanes* the Command over them. He, without any regard to Honour and Equity, made use of this Power so as to render himself absolute, and bring the Place under subjection; and having for that purpose cut off many principal Citizens, uncon- demn'd, and without Tryal, that were most likely to hinder his Design, he declar'd himself King of *Corinth*. This Procedure did infinitely afflict the good *Timoleon*, as reckoning the wickedness of such a Brother to be his own Reproach and Calamity. He therefore at first endeavour'd to persuade him by his Discourse to renounce those ambitious Measures, and in time bethink himself how to make the *Corinthians* some amends, and find out an Expedient to remedy and correct the Evils he had done them. But when his single Admonition was rejected and contemn'd by him, he makes a second and more powerful Attempt, taking with him one *Æschylus* his Kinsman, Brother to the Wife of *Timophanes*, and a certain Prophet or Diviner that was his Friend, whom *Theopompus* in His History calls *Satyrus*, but *Ephorus* and *Timæus* mention in Theirs by the Name of *Orthagoras*. After a few Days then he returns to his Brother with this Company, all three of them surrounding and earnestly importuning him upon the same Subject, that now at length he would listen to sober Counsel, and use Reason, and be of another mind. But when *Timophanes* began first to laugh at the Mens Simplicity, and being vehemently press'd, fell afterwards into a Rage and Indignation against them,

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them, (1) *Timoleon* stepped aside from him, and stood weeping, with his Face cover'd, while the other two, drawing their Swords, dispatch'd him in a moment. The rumour of this Fact being soon scatter'd about, the better and more generous sort of the *Corinthians* did highly applaud *Timoleon* for his detestation of Improbability, and extol the greatness of his Soul, (2) that contrary to the natural Sweetness and Gentleness of his Disposition, and notwithstanding his known Affection and Piety to Those of his own Family, he should however think the Obligations to his Country much stronger than the Tyes of Consanguinity, and prefer that which is handsom and just, before Gain and Interest, and his own particular advantage: For the same Brother, which with so much Bravery had been sav'd by him, when he fought valiantly in the cause of *Corinth*, he had now as

(1) The Authors *Plutarch* follows here. differ from *Diodorus Siculus*, who writes that *Timoleon* slew his Brother with his own Hands in the open Street. The Account *Plutarch* gives of that Murder, and which is the very same with that of *Theopompus* and *Ephorus*, appears more probable, and takes off somewhat from the Barbarity of the Action. This happen'd twenty years before *Timoleon* was appointed General of the Forces which the *Corinthians* sent to *Syracuse*.

(2) *Plutarch* seems, by what he says of it, to think this Action of *Timoleon* every way justifiable, and to be persuaded that no Body else wou'd consider it in a different Light. But the Heathens had no other Notion of true Justice, than what consisted in an unbounded Love of Liberty and

their Country. *Timophanes* no doubt, deserv'd Death, for enslaving his Country; but was it *Timoleon's* Business or Duty to punish and murder him for it? Ought he not to have try'd other Ways for its Deliverance? That Remorse which he felt for twenty years after, sufficiently shews that his Repentance was just; and that there are Notions written on our Souls, which all the Reasons of human Policy can never efface. However *Timoleon* may be applauded for having deliver'd his Country from a Tyrant, he will always be justly reproach'd for having murder'd his own Brother. Let human Policy find what Reasons it can to denominate this Murder a glorious Action; divine Policy, that is, true Justice, will find better to mark it for a heinous Crime.

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nobly Sacrificed, for enslaving her afterwards by his base and treacherous Usurpation. But then, on the other side, Those that knew not how to live in a Democracy, and had been us'd to make their humble Court unto the Men of Power, though they did openly pretend to rejoyce at the death of such a Tyrant, yet secretly reviling *Timo-leon*, as One that had committed the most impious and abominable Act, they cast him into a strange Melancholy and Dejection. And when he came to understand how heavily his Mother took it, and that She likewise did utter the saddest Complaints and most terrible Imprecations against him, he went to satisfy and comfort her for what had been done, but she wou'd not so much as look upon him, but caus'd the Doors of her House to be shut, that he might have no admission into her Presence; the grief whereof did so disorder his Mind, and make him grow so extremely disconsolate, that he determin'd to put an end to that perplexity with his Life, and starve himself by abstaining from all manner of Sustenance; 'till through the care and diligence of his Friends, who were very instant with him, and added Force to their Entreaties, he came to resolve and promise at last, that he would endure Living, provided it might be in Solitude, and remote from Company: So that, quitting all civil Transactions, and his former Commerce with the World, for a long while after his first Retirement, he never came into *Corinth*, but wandred up and down the Fields, full of anxious and tormenting Thoughts, and spent his time in those desert places, that were at the farthest distance from Society and human Intercourse. (1) Which Behaviour

(1) What *Plutarch* says here is our Resolutions ought to take very true; and he shews Us, like that Constancy and Steadiness that a great Philosopher, from whence are requisite to great Actions in order

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of his may give us occasion to observe, that the Minds of Men are easily shaken and carry'd off from their own Sentiments, through the casual Commendation or Reproof of others, unless the Judgments that we make, and the Purposes we conceive, be confirm'd too by Reason and Philosophy, which give strength and steadiness to our Undertakings; for an Action must not only be just and laudable in its own nature, but it must proceed likewise from solid Motives, and a lasting Principle, that so we may fully and constantly approve the thing, and be perfectly satisfy'd in what we do: For otherwise having once finish'd a Design, and brought our Resolution to practice, we shall out of pure weakness come to be troubled at the Performance, when the Grace and Goodliness thereof begins to decay and wear out of our Fancy, which render'd it before so amiable and pleasing to us. As it happens to those liquorish sort of People, that seizing on the more delicious Morsels of any Dish with a keen Appetite, are presently disgusted when they grow full, and find themselves oppress'd and uneasy now, by what they had before so greedily desired: For a succeeding dislike is enough to spoil the very best of Actions, and (1) Repentance makes That which was never so well done, to become base and faulty; whereas the Choice and Procedure that is founded upon Knowledge and wise Reasonings, does not change by Disappointment, or suffer us to repent, though it

order to prevent any future Repentance. But these Actions must be just, and the Justice of 'em such, as no Body can doubt of.

(1) For Repentance is nothing but a Sorrow for what we have done, which plainly shews the Mistake of our Choice; the Disadvantages of which we feel by

Experience. Whatever therefore we repent of, we must needs look upon as bad. But notwithstanding all that *Plutarch* says, I think it cannot be doubted but that *Timoleon's* Repentance was very just, and consequently that his Action was bad.

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happen perchance to be less prosperous in the issue. And therefore *Phocion* of *Athens*, having vigorously oppos'd (1) *Leosthenes* his mad Undertaking, which however did succeed contrary to his Opinion, and all the appearance of things; when he saw the *Athenians* fall to sacrifice, and look very big and haughty upon a Victory that was gotten by him, *Now it is done*, says he to them, *I should be glad to have been the Author, but I must still approve of my own Advice*. But *Aristides* the *Locrian*, one of *Plato's* Companions, made a more sharp and severe Reply to *Dionysius* the elder, who demanding one of his Daughters in Marriage; *I had rather*, says he to him, *see the Virgin in her Grave, than in the Palace of a Tyrant*. And when the same *Dionysius*, enrag'd at the Affront, made his Sons be put to Death a while after, and did then again insultingly ask, *Whether he were still in the same mind as to the disposal of his Daughter?* His answer was, *I cannot but grieve at the cruelty of thy deeds, but am not a whit sorry for the freedom of my own Words*. Now such Expressions as These may peradventure pass for the Effects of a more sublime and accomplish'd Virtue, which every Man cannot attain to.

But as for the passionate disorder of *Timoleon* upon the late Fact, whether it arose from a deep commiseration of his Brother's Fate, or the Reverence he bore his Mother, it did so shatter and dissolve his Spirits, that for the space of almost twenty years he had not offered to concern himself in any honourable or publick Action. When therefore he was pitch'd upon for General, and joyfully accepted as such by the Suffrages of the People, *Teleclides*, one of the greatest Power and Reputa-

(1) This *Leosthenes* engag'd the *Athenians* in a War, that *Phocion* would have prevented. The *Athenians* defeated the *Bacotians*. See the Life of *Phocion*.

tion in *Corinth*, began to exhort him, that he would act now like a Man of Worth and Gallantry: For, says he, (1) if you appear magnanimous, and do bravely in this Service, we shall then believe that you delivered us from a Tyrant; but if you behave your self basely, and come off ill, it will be thought by All that you kill'd your Brother. While he was yet preparing to set Sail, and lifting Soldiers to embark with him, there came Letters to the *Corinthians* from *Icetes*, that plainly discover'd his Revolt and Treachery; for his Ambassadors were no sooner gone for *Corinth*, but he openly joyn'd himself to the *Carthaginians*, and furthered them in their Designs, that They likewise might assist Him to throw out *Diomysius*, and become Master of *Syracuse* in his room. And fearing he might be disappointed of his Aim, if any considerable Force and a skilful Leader should come from *Corinth* before This was effected, he sent a Letter of Advice thither in all haste, to prevent their setting out, telling them, they needed not be at any cost and trouble upon his account, or run the hazard of a *Sicilian Expedition*, especially since the *Carthaginians* would dispute their Passage, and lay in wait to attack them with a numerous Fleet, whom he had himself now engag'd, (being forc'd thereto by the slow-

(1) There is a great deal of Reason in this Saying, which seems to be fetch'd from the depths of Philosophy. For our Actions shew the Nature of the Principles by which we act. Had *Timoleon* made an ill Use of the Power he was entrusted with, it must have been believ'd that he kill'd his Brother only out of Envy, and that he might succeed him in his Post; whereas by using that Power well, no Body could doubt, but his Hatred of

Tyranny was the sole Motive that induc'd him to commit that Action. *Diodorus Siculus* put this Saying in a clearer light, relating it thus, ἐὰν μὲν καλῶς ἀρῇ τῆς Συρακούσων, κτίσῃ αὐτὸν Τυραννιστὴν. ἐὰν δὲ πλεονεκτικῶτερον, ἀδελφὸν φονέα. If you govern the *Syracusians* well, we shall esteem You the Destroyer of a Tyrant; but if You govern them ill for your own private Advantage, we shall reckon You the Murderer of your Brother.

ness of their Motions) to lend him all necessary Assistance against Dionysius. This Letter being publickly read, if any had been cold and indifferent before, as to the Expedition in hand, yet the Indignation they conceiv'd against the double dealing of *Icetes*, did now exasperate and inflame them all, insomuch that they willingly contributed to supply *Timoleon*, and jointly endeavour'd to hasten his departure.

When the Vessels were equipped, and his Soldiers every way provided for, the Female Priests of *Proserpina* had a Dream or Vision, wherein she and her Mother *Ceres* appear'd to them in a travelling Garb, and were heard to say, that they would sail with *Timoleon* into *Sicily*; whereupon the *Corinthians* having (1) built a sacred Galley, it was devoted to Them, and call'd the Galley of the Goddesses. *Timoleon* went in Person to *Delphi*, where he sacrific'd to *Apollo*, and descending into the place of Prophecy, he was surpriz'd with this marvellous Occurrence; A Wreath, or Garland interwoven with Crowns and Trophies, slipped off from among the Gifts that were there consecrated and hung up in the Temple, and fell directly down upon his Head; so that *Apollo* seem'd already to crown him with Success, and send him thence to conquer and triumph in that Enterprize. He put to Sea only with seven Ships of *Corinth*, two of *Corcyra*, and a tenth which was furnish'd out by the *Leucadians*. Being now enter'd into the Deep by night, and carry'd with a prosperous Gale, the Heaven seem'd all on a sudden to be rent in sunder, and a bright spreading Flame to issue from the Division, and hover over the Ship wherein

(1) *Diodorus Siculus* says, (which is more probable) that they gave the Name abovemention'd to one of the finest and best of those Vessels which they had equipp'd before.

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he was, which having form'd it self into a Torch, not unlike those that are us'd in their Religious Mysteries, began to steer the same course, and move along in their Company, guiding them by its light to that Quarter of *Italy*, where they design'd to go ashore. The Soothsayers affirm'd that this Apparition did agree with that Dream of the holy Women, and make good what they had happily foretold, since the Goddesses did now visibly joyn in the Expedition, and set up that heavenly Lamp to march before them as a Convoy; *Sicily* being thought sacred to *Proserpina*; for Poets feign, that the Rape was committed there, and that the Island was given her (1) in Dowry when she was married to *Pluto*. Now these early Demonstrations of Divine Favour did mightily encourage his whole Army; so that making all the Sail they were able, and nimbly crossing the Sea, they were soon brought upon the Coast of *Italy*: But the Tidings that came from *Sicily* did very much perplex *Timoleon*, and dishearten his Soldiers; for (2) *Iceles* having already beaten *Dionysius* out of the Field, and reduc'd the greater part of *Syracuse* it self, did now straiten and besiege him in the Citadel, and that Remnant which is call'd *the Isle*, whither he was lately fled for his last Refuge; while the *Carthaginians*, by agreement, were to

(1) According to the Custom of those ancient Times, the Bridegroom made a Present to the Bride; which Custom is particularly taken Notice of in *Homer*. This Present was made the third Day after the Wedding, when the Bride appear'd without her Veil; for which Reason *Plutarch* calls it *ανακαλυψηειον*.

(2) *Iceles* having lain some Time before *Syracuse*, began to want Provisions, which oblig'd

him to retire with his Army towards his own Country; whereupon *Dionysius* march'd out, pursued him, and attack'd his Rear; but *Iceles* facing about to make good his Retreat, defeated him, kill'd three thousand of his Men, and pursuing him into the City, kept Possession of it; while *Dionysius* was forc'd to content himself with that Part of it call'd *the Isle*.

make it their business to hinder *Timoleon* from Landing in any Port of *Sicily*; so that He and his Party being driven back, they might with more ease, and at their own leisure, divide the Island among themselves. In pursuance of which Design, the *Carthaginians* sent away twenty of their Gallies to *Rhegium*, having aboard them certain Ambassadors from *Icetes* to *Timoleon*, that carry'd Instructions suitable to these Proceedings, which were nothing else but specious Amusements and plausible Stories, to colour and conceal his knavish Purposes; for the Men had Order to propose and demand, That *Timoleon* himself (if he lik'd the Offer) should come to advise with *Icetes*, and partake of all his Conquests, but that he might send back his Ships and Forces unto *Corinth*, since the War was in a manner finish'd, and the *Carthaginians* had block'd up all the Road, resolving to repell Force with Force, and oppose them if they should press towards the Shore. When therefore the *Corinthians* met with these Envoys at *Rhegium*, and receiv'd their Message, and saw the *Punick* Vessels riding at Anchor in the Bay, they became deeply sensible of the Abuse that was put upon them, and had a general Indignation against *Icetes*, and mighty apprehensions for the poor *Sicilians*, whom they now plainly perceiv'd to be as it were a Prize and Recompence betwixt the Falshood of *Icetes* on one side, and the Ambition of *Carthage* on the other; for it seem'd utterly impossible to force and overbear the *Carthaginian* Ships that lay before them, and were double their number, as also to vanquish the late Victorious Troops which *Icetes* had with him in *Syracuse*, for the Conduct and Relief whereof they had undertaken that Voyage. The Case being thus, *Timoleon* after some Conference with the Legates of *Icetes*, and the *Carthaginian* Captains, told them, he should readily submit to their Proposals,

posals, (for it would be to no purpose to refuse Compliance;) he was desirous only before his Return to *Corinth*, that what had pass'd between them in private, might be solemnly declar'd before the People of *Rhegium*, which was a *Grecian* City, and a common Friend to both Parties; for this would very much conduce to his own Security and Discharge; and They likewise would more strictly observe such Articles of Agreement, on behalf of the *Syracusians*, which they had oblig'd themselves to in the presence of so many Witnesses. The Design of all which was, only to give them Diversion, while he got an Opportunity of slipping through their Fleet: A Contrivance that all the principal *Rhegians* were privy and assisting to, who had a great desire that the Affairs of *Sicily* should fall into *Corinthian* hands, but dreaded nothing so much as the consequence of a *Punick* Neighbourhood. An Assembly was therefore call'd, and the Gates shut, that the Burghers might have no liberty to scatter and apply themselves to other Business: Being met together, they made tedious Harangues, and spoke one by one upon the same Argument, without driving the matter to any certain Head, but purposely spinning out the time by that and other artificial ways, till the *Corinthian* Galleys should get clear of the Haven, the *Carthaginian* Commanders being detain'd there without any suspicion, because *Timoleon* was still present, and gave Signs as if he were just now preparing to make an Oration. But upon (1) secret notice that the rest of the Galleys were already gone off, and that His only remain'd waiting for

(1) The *Carthaginian* Ships suffer'd them to pass by, believing this to be done by Agreement with their Officers who were in the City, and that those nine Galleys

were going back to *Corinth*, and that the tenth was left behind, to carry *Timoleon* to *Iscoter's* Army at *Syracuse*.

The LIFE of

Him, by the Help and Concealment of those *Rhegi-ans* that were about the Chair, where they made Speeches, and favour'd his Departure, he made a shift to slide away through the Crowd, and running down to the Port, hoisted up Sail with all speed; and having reach'd his other Vessels, they came all safe to *Tauromenium* in *Sicily*, whither they had been formerly invited, and where they were now kindly receiv'd by *Andromachus* the Guardian and Ruler of that City. This Man was Father of *Timæus* the Historian, and incomparably the best of all Those that bore sway in *Sicily* at that time; for he govern'd his Citizens according to Law and Justice, and had ever openly profess'd an aversion and enmity to all Tyrants; upon which account he gave *Timoleon* leave to muster up his Troops there, and to make that City a Place of Arms, persuading the Inhabitants to join with the *Corinthian* Forces, and assist them in the Design of delivering *Sicily*. But the *Carthaginians* who were left in *Rhegium* perceiving, upon breaking up of the Assembly, that *Timoleon* had given them the Go-by, were not a little vex'd to see themselves out-witted, which did occasion much Pastime and Pleasantness to the *Rhegi-ans*, who could not chuse but smile and rally them, when they heard (1) those exquisite Masters in all *Cunning* and *Subtilty*, to complain of fraudulent and deceitful Doings. However they dispatch'd a *Messenger* aboard one of their Gallies to *Tauromenium*; who after much blustering in the *Barbarick* way, and mighty Me-

(1) For the *Phenicians* were reckon'd the greatest Cheats in the World, insomuch that their Treachery became proverbial; *Fraus Punica* was a common Saying. And this their Character and Reputation is very Ancient; for We find it establish'd in *Homer's* Time. *Odys. l. iv. xiv. Ulysses* says, *And after eight Years there came to me a Phenician, a notorious Cheat, profoundly skill'd in all Kinds of Villany and Deceit, who had done an infinite Deal of Mischief in the World.*

nacès to *Andromachus*, if he did not forthwith send the *Corinthians* packing, stretched out his Hand with the inside upward, and then turning it down again, threatned he would handle their City just in that fashion, and turn it topsy-turvy in as little time, and with as much ease. *Andromachus* then laughing at the Man's boisterous Confidence, made no other reply, but in contempt thereof, fell to imitate his *Legerdemain*, and bid him presently be gone, unless he had a mind to see that kind of Dexterity practis'd first upon the Galley which brought Him thither. *Icetes* being certified that *Timoleon* had made good his Passage, he was in great fear of what might follow thereupon, and sent to desire the *Carthaginians*, that more Gallies might be order'd to attend and secure the Coast. And now it was that the *Syracusians* began wholly to despair of Safety, seeing the *Carthaginians* possess'd of their Haven, *Icetes* Master of the City, and *Dionysius* commanding in the Fortress; whereas *Timoleon* had as yet but a very slender footing in *Sicily*, which he only seiz'd upon as it were by the Fringe or Border in that small City of the *Tauromenians*, with a feeble Hope, and weak Hand; for he had but 1000 Soldiers at the most, and no more Provisions either of Corn or Money, than were just necessary for the maintenance and the pay of that inconsiderable number. Nor did the other Towns of *Sicily* confide in him, being lately over-run with Violence and Outrage, and exasperated against all Commanders in general, for the sake chiefly of *Calippus* an *Athenian*, and *Pharax* a *Lacedæmonian* Captain, and the mischiefs they had suffer'd by their Treachery; for Both of them having given out, that the Design of their coming was to introduce Liberty, and depose Tyrants, they did so Tyrannize themselves, that the Reign of former Oppressors seem'd to be a golden Age, if

compar'd with the Lordliness and Exaction of these pretended Deliverers, who made the *Sicilians* reckon Them to be far more happy that did expire in Servitude, than Any that had liv'd to see such a dismal Freedom; so that looking for no better Usage from this *Corinthian* General, but imagining that the same Devices and Wheedles were now again set a-foot, to allure and sweeten them by fair Hopes and kind Promises into the Obedience of a new Master, they did all generally (unless it were the People of (1) *Adranum*) suspect the Exhortations, and reject the Overtures that were made them in his Name. Now these were Inhabitants of a City small of itself, but consecrated to *Adranus* (a certain God that was in high Veneration throughout *Sicily*) and they happen'd then to be at variance among themselves, insomuch that one Party call'd in *Iceles* and the *Carthaginians* to assist them, while the other sent Addressees to *Timoleon*, that He would come and espouse their Quarrel. Now it so fell out, that these Auxiliaries, striving which should be there soonest, did both arrive at *Adranum* about the same time; *Iceles* brought with him at least 5000 fighting Men; but all the Force *Timoleon* could make did not exceed 1200: With These he marched out of *Tauromenium*, which was above forty two Miles distant from that City. The first Day he mov'd but slowly, and took up his Quarters betimes after a short March; but the Day following he quickned his pace; and having pass'd through many difficult Places, towards Evening he receiv'd advice that *Iceles* was newly come to *Adranum*, and lay encamp'd before it: Upon which Intelli-

(1) *Adranum*, a small City below Mount *Ætna*, upon the River *Adranus*, which runs out of that Mountain. Both of them, City and River, take their Name from the God *Adranus*, who was worship'd there, and had a magnificent Temple that was guarded by a thousand Dogs.

gence, his Captains and other Officers caused the Vanguard to make a halt, that the Army being refresh'd, and having repos'd a while, they might engage the Enemy with greater Briskness. But *Timoleon* coming up in haste, desired them not to stop for that Reason, but rather use all possible diligence to surprize the *Icetians*, whom probably they would now find in Disorder, as being just come off their March, and taken up at present in erecting Tents, and preparing Supper; which he had no sooner said, but laying hold on his Buckler, and putting himself in the Front, he led them on as it were to a certain Victory; the Braveness of such a Leader made them all follow him with a like Courage and Assurance. They were now within less than thirty Furlongs of *Adranum*, which having soon got over, they immediately fell in upon the Enemy, that was seiz'd with Confusion, and began to retire at their first Approaches; whence also it came to pass, that amidst so little Opposition, and so early and general a Flight, there were not many more than 300 slain, and about twice the number made Prisoners, but their Camp and Baggage was all taken. The Fortune of this Onset soon oblig'd the *Adranitans* to unlock their Gates, and embrace the Interest of *Timoleon*. They recounted to him in a strange Afrightment, and with great Admiration, how at the very Minute that he was engaged, the Doors of their Temple flew open of their own accord, that the Javelin which their God held in his Hand was observ'd to tremble all over, and that Drops of Sweat had been seen running down his Face. These Omens did not only preface the Victory that was then gotten, but were also a Preface of his future Exploits and Successes, to which the Felicity of this Action gave him so fair an Entrance: For now all the neighbouring Cities sent Deputies one upon

another, to seek his Friendship, and tender him their Service; among the rest, (1) *Mamercus*, the Tyrant of *Catana*, both a stout Warrior and a Wealthy Prince, struck up an Alliance with him; and, what was of greater Importancè still, *Dionysius* himself being now grown desperate, and well nigh forc'd to surrender, began to despise *Iceles*, as one shamefully baffled; but much admiring the Valour of *Timoleon*, found means to advertise Him and his *Corinthians*, that he was desirous to deliver up Himself and the Arsenal into their hands. *Timoleon*, gladly embracing this unlook'd-for Advantage, sends away *Euclides* and *Telamachus*, two *Corinthian* Captains, with 400 Men, for the Seisure and Custody of the Castle, who had Directions to enter not all at once, or in open view (for that was not to be done while the Enemy kept a Guard upon the Haven) but only by stealth, and in small Companies. And so they took possession of that Fortrefs, and the Palace of *Dionysius*, with all the Stores and Ammunition he had prepar'd and laid up as useful to maintain the War; for they found in it a good number of Horses and all manner of Engines, and a multitude of Darts, and Weapons to arm out 70000 Men, that had been the Magazine of old, beside 2000 Soldiers that were then with him, which he gave up likewise among the rest for *Timoleon's* Service. But *Dionysius* himself putting some Treasure and a few Friends aboard, sail'd away without the knowledge of *Iceles*; and being brought to the Camp of *Timoleon*, (2) he there appear'd for the

(1) By this Place of *Plutarch* we ought to correct that of *Diodorus Siculus*, where he calls this Tyrant of *Catana*, *Marcus*, instead of *Mamercus*.

(2) *Plutarch* says this, because

Dionysius was born and bred to absolute Power, whereas most Tyrants were once private mean Persons, who from a low and abject Condition rose to that Height of Power.

T I M O L E O N.

25

first time in the lowly Guise and ignoble Equipage of a private Person, and was shortly after sent to *Corinth* with a single Ship, and a small Sum of Money. He who had been born and educated in the most splendid Court, and the most absolute Monarchy that ever was, which he held and kept up for the space of (1) ten years after his Father's Death, and since the Attempts of *Dion*, who constrain'd him to quit the Empire, had spent twelve years more in a continual Agitation of Wars and Scufflings, and great variety of Fortune; dying which time all the Mischiefs and Vexations of his former Reign were abundantly repaid and outdone by those Evils and Calamities which he then suffer'd; for he liv'd both to see the Funeral of his Sons, who died in the Prime and Vigour of their Age, and the Rape of his Daughters, in the Flower of their Virginity: He had another mortifying sight too, from the abuse and prostitution of his own Sister that became his Wife, who being first villanously treated, and her Person expos'd to all the Lust and Lewdness of the Common Soldiery, was then murther'd with her Children, and their Bodies cast into the Sea; the particulars whereof I have more exactly related in the Life of *Dion*.

Upon the Fame of his Landing at *Corinth*, there was hardly a Man in *Greece* who had not the Curiosity to come and view the late formidable Tyrant, and discourse with him: Some rejoicing at his Disasters, were led thither out of meer Spight and Hatred, that they might have the Pleasure of seeing him in such a despicable state, and of trampling on the Ruins of his broken Fortune; but

(1) For he began his Reign in the first Year of the hundred and third Olympiad. And *Dion* took Arms against him in the fourth Year of the hundred and fifth, and he deliver'd up the Castle, and was sent to *Corinth*, in the first Year of the hundred and ninth.

Others,

Others, who made a serious and good-natur'd use of that Accident, did so consider the Change, as to reflect upon it with Pity and Compassion, contemplating withal that marvellous and mighty Power, which Invisible and Divine Causes do exercise here below in the great and notorious Examples of Human Weakness: For neither (1) Nature nor Art did in that Age produce any thing comparable to this Work and Wonder of Providence, which shewed the very same Man, that was not long before Supream Monarch of *Sicily*, holding Conversation now in the Shambles, or sitting whole Days in a Perfumer's Shop, or drinking the diluted Wine of Taverns, or squabbling in the Street with (2) common Strumpets, or pretending to instruct the Musical in their Odes, and seriously disputing with them, about the Measure and Harmony of certain Airs that were sung in the Theatre. Which Behaviour of his met with different Censures; for being Lustful and Vicious in himself, and of an immodest Temper, he was thought by Many to do this, out of pure Compliance with his own natural Inclinations: But the finer sort of Judges were of Opinion, that all this while he was acting a sly Politick part, with design hereby to be more contemn'd among them; that the *Corinthians* might not suspect or dread him, as if he did ill brook such a Vicissitude of Fortune, and were secretly contriving ways to undermine the State, or advance himself to his former Dignity: For prevention of which Surmises, and those Dangers they

(1) He adds *nor Art*, to let us understand that none of the Tragick Writers had represented so signal and terrible a Catastrophe, as Fortune had shew'd in the Life of *Dionysius*. 'Tis not unusual, in Tragedies, to see Kings reduc'd to the lowest Degree of Misery and Want. This is a fine Reflection of *Plutarch's*, and deserv'd to be explain'd.

(2) The Greek says, *with Women that make a Trade of their Beauty*, who live by their Beauty.

might create him, he did purposely seem delighted with many sordid things that were against his Genius, and affect an appearance of much ridiculous Folly, in the choice and manner of all his publick Divertisements. However it be, there are certain Sayings and Repartees of his left still upon Record, which sufficiently declare, that he was not dejected under so great a Fall, and whereby it seems he did handsomely accommodate himself to his present Circumstances; as may appear in part from the Ingenuity of that confession, when being come to *Leucadia*, which was a *Corinthian* Colony as well as *Syracuse*, he told the Inhabitants thereof, *That he found something in himself not unlike the Passion and Humour of those Children, who had been guilty of some Misdemeanour; for as they did chearfully converse among their Brethren, but were asham'd to come into their Father's presence; so likewise should He gladly reside with them in that Island, but that he had a certain awe upon his Mind, which made him fearfully decline the sight of Corinth, that was a common Mother to them Both.* But the thing is further evident, from that Reply he once made to a Stranger in *Corinth*, who deriding him in a very rude and scornful manner, about the Conferences he us'd to have with Philosophers, whose Company had been so delightful to him, while yet a Monarch, and demanding, in fine, what his Highness was the better now for all those wise and learned Discourses of *Plato*? Do you think, says he, *I have made no advantage of his Philosophy, when you see me bear the late Alteration in my Fortune, and this Insolence of yours, with such an even Temper?* And when *Aristoxenus* the Musician, and several others, desir'd to know wherein *Plato* had offended him, and what was the ground of his Displeasure to that worthy Man? He made answer, *That the Condition of Sovereign Princes, being attended with many other Misfortunes,*
had

had this great Infelicity above all the rest, That none of Those who were accounted their Friends, and had the liberty of Favourites, would venture to speak freely, or tell them the plain honest Truth, and that it was owing to Their evil Councils, and false Representations, that he had been depriv'd of Plato's Kindness, the only Person from whom he was like to hear it. At another time, one of those pleasant Companions, that are desirous to pass for Wits or Humourists, in Abuse and Mockery to *Dionysius*, as if he were still the same guarded and suspicious Tyrant, fell himself to examine and shake his own Cloak as he was entring into the Room, where He was, to shew there were no hidden Daggers or conceal'd Weapons about him. But *Dionysius* wounded the Man with the sharpness of his own Jest, in retorting smartly, *Do you hear, Friend, it would be more satisfactory from one of your thievish Looks, and I should like it much better, if you would thus open and shake your Garment, when you depart hence, that I might be sure you had stolen nothing out of my Chamber.* And when *Philip* of *Macedon*, as they two were toping it together, began to talk after a drolling way about (1) the Verses and Tragedies which his Father, *Dionysius* the Elder, had left behind him, and pretended to wonder how he could get any time from his other Business, to compose such elaborate and ingenious Pieces, he reply'd very much

(1) *Dionysius* the elder valued himself on his Poetry, but was the worst Poet in the World. The Oracle had foretold that he should die whenever he overcame those that were better than himself. This he apply'd to the *Carthaginians*, and for that Reason wou'd never make use of his Whole Strength against 'em. But having compos'd a Tragedy, he sent it to *Athens*, to lay a Claim to the

Prize; and the *Athenians*, out of sordid base Flattery, adjudg'd it to him, and declar'd him Conqueror. *Dionysius* was so full of Joy at this great Success, that he prepar'd a sumptuous Entertainment, at which he made so great a Debauch, that he fell Sick and died. Thus the Oracle was accomplish'd; but who cou'd have foreseen the Manner?

TIMOLEON.

29

to the purpose; *It was at those leisurable Hours, when such as you and I, and All that seem or count themselves the happy Men, were employ'd in Merriment and Revelling, and the sottish Follies of Intemperance. Plato had not the opportunity of seeing Dionysius at Corinth, being already dead before he came thither; but Diogenes of Sinope, at their first meeting in the Street there, saluted him with this ambiguous Expression, O Dionysius, how little dost thou deserve to live thus! Upon which Dionysius stopp'd, and reply'd, I am much oblig'd to thee, Diogenes, that thou dost so kindly commiserate my case, and seem to be concern'd for the Disasters that have befallen me. Dost thou imagine then, says Diogenes, that I condole with thee for what has happen'd? And am not rather heartily vex'd, that such a Slave as thou, who if thou hadst thy due, shouldst have been let alone to grow old, and die in the wretched State of Tyranny, as thy Father did before thee, should now enjoy the quietness and ease of private Persons, and be here at thy own Disposal, to sport and frolick it in our Society. So that when I compare with the Words of this Philosopher, those sad Stories of Philistus, touching the Daughters of Lep-
tines, where he makes pitiful moan on their behalf, as fallen from all the Blessings and Advantages of powerful Greatness to the Miseries of an humble Life, they seem to me like the Lamentations of a poor Lady, who had lost her Box of Ointment, and her purple Colouring, and her golden Trinkets. Now that which I have inserted here, is agreeable enough to my Design of writing Lives and representing the true Characters of Men, neither will it, I presume, be thought useless and impertinent, (1) by such Readers as are not in too much*

(1) For People that are impatient look upon every Thing as they are desirous of knowing. foreign and useless, that retards Whatever thwarts their Curiosity appears

much haste, or busied and taken up with other Concerns.

But if the unhappiness of *Dionysius* appear strange and extraordinary, we shall have no less reason to admire at the good Fortune of *Timoleon*, who within fifty Days after his landing in *Sicily*, both recover'd the Citadel of *Syracuse*, and sent *Dionysius* an Exile into *Peloponnesus*. Which lucky beginning did so animate the *Corinthians*, that they order'd him a supply of 2000 Foot, and 200 Horse, who being come as far as *Thurium*, intended to cross over thence into *Sicily*; but finding all beset with *Carthaginian* Ships, which made the Road unpassable, they were constrain'd to stop there, and watch their opportunity: Which time however was employ'd in a noble Action; for the *Thurians* going out to War against those of *Brutium*, left their City in charge with these *Corinthian* Strangers, who defended it as carefully as if it had been their own Country, and then resign'd it up again with the Justice and Faithfulness of honest Guardians.

Icetes in the interim continu'd still to besiege the Castle of *Syracuse*, and hinder'd all Provisions from coming in by Sea, to relieve the *Corinthians* that were in it. He had engag'd also, and dispatch'd towards *Adranum*, two foreign Soldiers to assassinate *Timoleon*, who at other times did not use to have any standing Guard about his Person, and was then altogether secure, diverting himself without Jealousy or Caution among the Citizens of that Place, through the Confidence he had not only in Them, but in the Favour and Protection of their God *Adra-*

appears to them insupportable. And People engaged in Business regard Nothing but what has Relation to such Affairs as they have been accusom'd to; and not well knowing how to employ their Time, look upon the finest Things	as useless; and either never read at all, or if they happen to do so sometimes, 'tis only (to make Use of one of <i>Plato's</i> Comparisons) like Slaves that have ran away from their Master, and are always in Fear of him,
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TIMOLEON.

31

nus. The Villains that were sent upon this Enterprize, having casually heard that *Timoleon* was about to sacrifice, came directly into the Temple with Poniards under their Cloaks, and pressing in among the Crowd, by little and little got up close to the Altar ; but as they were just looking for a Sign from each other to begin the Attempt, a third Person struck one of them over the Head with a Sword, who suddenly falling down, neither He that gave the Blow, nor the Partisan of Him that receiv'd it, kept their Stations any longer ; but the One making way with his bloody Sword, put no stop to his Flight, till he gain'd the top of a certain lofty Precipice, while the Other laying hold of the Altar, besought *Timoleon* to spare his Life and he would reveal to him the whole Conspiracy. His Pardon being granted, he confess'd, that both himself and his dead Companion were sent thither purposely to slay him. While this Discovery was making, He that had kill'd the other Conspirator, being forced from his Sanctuary on the Rock, loudly and often protested as he came along, that there was no injustice in the Fact, for he only took righteous Vengeance for his Father's Blood, of a Man that had murder'd him before in the City of *Leontium* ; and for the Truth of This he appeal'd to several that were there present, who All attested the same, (1) and could never enough admire the hidden, and incomprehensible Methods of Providence, which by making one Thing spring from Another, and by bringing together the most distant Events, ties them as it were to the same Chain of Accidents, that seem to have no Relation, or Agreement with One Another, and makes use of natural Causes to

(1) This is the true Sense of Depths of Philosophy, and contains an excellent Meaning, and to been well explain'd; and which an evident Truth.
seems to be taken from the very

produce

produce Effects, which don't seem to be natural, how strange and wonderful soever they may appear. The *Corinthians* therefore being satisfy'd as to the Innocence and Equity of this Action, did honour and reward the Author with a Present of 10*l.* in their Money, because he made use of his own just Indignation, to gratify the good Genius or Guardian Angel of *Timoleon*, and did not spend those Resentments he had treasur'd up of old before that time, but luckily deferr'd the Revenge of a private Quarrel for His Preservation.

But this so fortunate an Escape, had Effects and Consequences beyond the present; for it inspir'd the *Corinthians* with mighty Hopes and future Expectations of *Timoleon*, seeing the People now reverence and protect him as a sacred Person, and One sent by God to avenge and redeem *Sicily*. *Icetes* having mis'd of his aim in this Enterprize, and perceiving also that Many went off, and sided with *Timoleon*, he began to chide himself for his foolish Modesty, that when so considerable a Force of the *Carthaginians* lay ready to be commanded by him, he should employ them hitherto by degrees and in small numbers, introducing their Auxiliaries by stealth, and after a sneaking clandestine manner, as if he had been asham'd of the Action. Therefore now laying aside his former Niceness and Caution, he calls in *Mago* their Admiral, with his whole Navy, who presently set sail, and seiz'd upon the Port with a formidable Fleet of at least 150 Vessels, and landing there 60000 Foot, took up his own Lodgings in the City; so that in all Mens opinion, the time anciently talk'd of, and long expected, wherein *Sicily* should be over-run by a barbarous People, was now come to its fatal period; for in all their preceding Wars, and so many desperate Conflicts with those of *Sicily*, the *Carthaginians* had never been able, before This, to take *Syracuse*;

use; but *Icetes* then receiving them, and putting the City into their hands, you might see it become now as it were a Camp of these *Barbarians*. By this means the *Corinthian* Soldiers that kept the Castle, found themselves brought into great Danger and Hardship; for beside that their Provision grew scarce, and they began to be in want, because the Havens were strictly guarded and block'd up, the Enemy did exercise them still with Skirmishes and Combats about their Walls, and they were not only oblig'd to be continually in Arms, but to divide and prepare themselves for Assaults and Encounters of every kind, and to sustain the shock of all those forcible Engines and Instruments of Battery, which are devis'd and made use of by such as besiege Cities.

Timoleon however made a shift to relieve them in these Straits, sending Corn from *Catana* by small Fisher-Boats and little Skiffs, which taking the Advantage of bad Weather commonly got a Passage through the *Carthaginian* Galleys, which at the same time were driven and dispers'd by the Tempestuousness of the Season. When This was observ'd by *Mago* and *Icetes*, they agreed to fall upon *Catana*, from whence these Supplies were brought in to the Besieged, and accordingly put off from *Syracuse*, taking with them their prime chosen Men, and the stoutest Soldiers in their whole Army. *Leo* the *Corinthian*, (who commanded in the Cittadel) taking notice that the Enemies which stay'd behind, were very negligent and careless in keeping Guard, made a sudden Sally upon them as they lay scatter'd, wherein killing Some, and putting Others to the flight, he took and possess'd that Quarter which they call *Acradina*, and was thought to be the best and strongest, and the most entire part of *Syracuse*, (1) a City made up and compacted as it

(1) There were four; the Isle | the two Ports; *Acradina*, at a little or the Castle, which was between | Distance from the Castle; *Tyche*,
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it were of several Towns put together: Having thus stor'd himself with Corn and Money, he did not abandon the Place, nor retire again into the Castle, but fortifying the Precincts of *Acradina*, and joining it by certain Works to the Cittadel, he undertook the defence of Both. *Mago* and *Iceles* were now come near to *Catana*, when a Horse-man dispatch'd from *Syracuse*, brought them tidings that *Acradina* was taken; upon which they return'd in all haste with great Disorder and Confusion, having neither been able to reduce the City they went against, nor to preserve That they were Masters of before.

In this Action the *Corinthians* seem to have ow'd less to Fortune than to their own Courage and Conduct, whereas in That which follows the whole Glory may justly be ascrib'd to Fortune; for the *Corinthian* Soldiers which stay'd at *Thurium*, partly for fear of the *Carthaginian* Galleys, which lay in wait for them under the Command of *Hanno*, and partly because of the tempestuous Weather which had lasted for many days, took a Resolution to march by Land over the *Brutian* Territories, and what with Persuasion and Force together, made good their Passage through those *Barbarians* to the City of *Rhegium*, the Sea being still rough and raging as before. But *Hanno*, not expecting the *Corinthians* would venture out, and supposing it would be in vain to wait there any longer, bethought himself, as he imagin'd, of a very notable Stratagem, and such a cunning Invention, as would be apt to delude and insnare the Enemy; in pursuance of which Subtilty, he commanded the Sea-men to

so call'd from the Temple of Fortune; and <i>Neapolis</i> , or the new City. <i>Titus Livius</i> , <i>Diodorus</i> , <i>Plutarch</i> , and other Authors add a fifth, which they call <i>Epipolæ</i> . And	for this Reason <i>Strabo</i> writes that <i>Syracuse</i> was anciently compos'd of five Cities. <i>περὶ ἅπολις γὰρ ἦν τὸ παλαιόν.</i>
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CROWN

crown themselves with Garlands, and adorning his Gallies with Bucklers (1) both of the Greek and Punick make, he sail'd away for *Syracuse* in this triumphant Equipage, and using all his Oars as he pass'd under the Castle with much Clapping and noisy Laughter, on purpose to dishearten them, through a Belief that he came from vanquishing the *Corinthian* Succours, which he fell upon at Sea, as they were passing over into *Sicily*. While he was thus trifling and playing his Tricks before *Syracuse*, the *Corinthians*, now come as far as *Rhegium*, observing the Coast clear, and that the Wind was laid as it were by a Miracle, to afford them in all appearance a quiet and smooth Passage, went immediately aboard on such little Barques and Fisher-boats as were then at hand, and got over to *Sicily* with so much safety and in such a dead Calm, that they drew their Horses by the Reins, swimming along by the Sides of their Vessels. When they were all landed, *Timoleon* came to receive them, and presently took in *Messina* by their means, from whence he march'd in good Order to *Syracuse*, trusting more to Fortune and his late prosperous Atchievements, than his present strength; for the whole Army he had then with him, did not exceed the number of 4000; however *Mago* was troubled and fearful at the first notice of his coming, but grew more apprehensive and jealous still upon this occasion. (2) The Marshes about *Syracuse*, that receive a great deal of fresh Water, as well from Springs and Fountains, as from Lakes and Rivers discharging them-

(1) Why *Punick*? It is probable that *ποινικίων* here is not a *patronymick*, and ought not to be written with a capital, but with a common π , to express Shields set off with Purple, as we see lower $\alpha\omega\omega\iota\delta\alpha\varsigma$ $\delta\varsigma$ $\rho\epsilon\iota\omicron\gamma\gamma\alpha\phi\epsilon\iota\varsigma$.

(2) There is one Morass that is call'd *Eysmelia*, and another call'd *Syraco*. From this last the City took its Name. These Morasses make the Air of *Syracuse* very unwholesome.

selves into the Sea, do breed abundance of Eels, which may be always taken there in great quantities, by any that will fish for them. Now the mercenary Soldiers that serv'd on both sides, were wont to follow that Sport together at their vacant hours, and upon any cessation of Arms. These being all Greeks, and having no Cause of private Enmity to each other, as they would venture bravely in Fight, so in the times of Truce they did meet and converse amicably together; and at that time happening to be employed about the common business of Fishing, they fell into various Conference, Some expressing their admiration as to the nature and fruitfulness of that Sea, and Others expressing how much they were taken with the Convenience and commodious Situation of the adjacent Places, which gave a hint to one of the Corinthian Party to demand thus of the Others: *And is it possible that You, who are Grecians born, should be so forward to reduce a City of this Greatness, and endu'd with so many rare Advantages, into the State of Barbarism; and lend your Assistance to plant Carthaginians, that are the worst and bloodiest of Men, so much nearer to us? whereas you should rather wish there were many more Sicilies to lie between Them and Greece: Have you so little sense as to believe, that they come hither with an Army from Hercules his Pillars, and the Atlantick Sea, to hazard themselves for the establishment of Ictetes? Who, if he had had the Consideration which becomes a General, would never have thrown out his Ancestors and Founders, to bring in the Enemies of his Country in the room of them, but might have enjoy'd all suitable Honour and Command, with the Consent of Timolcon and the Corinthians.* The Greeks that were in Pay with Ictetes, noising these Discourses about their Camp, gave Mago some ground to suspect (who had long sought for a Pretence to be gone) that there was Treachery contriv'd against him;

him; so that albeit *Icetes* entreated him to tarry, and made it appear how much stronger they were than the Enemy; yet conceiving they came far more short of *Timoleon*, both as to Courage and Fortune, than they did surpass him in Number, he presently went aboard, and set sail for *Africa*, letting *Sicily* escape out of his hands with Dishonour to himself, and for such unknown Causes, that no human Reason could give an account of his Departure. The day after he went away, *Timoleon* came up before the City, appointed for a Battel; but when He and his Company both heard of their sudden Flight, and saw the Haven empty, they could not forbear laughing at the Cowardice of *Mago*, and by way of Mockery caus'd Proclamation to be made, that He should be well Rewarded for his Intelligence, who could bring them tidings whither it was that the *Carthaginian* Fleet had convey'd itself from them. However *Icetes* resolving to fight it out alone, and not quitting his hold of the City, but sticking close to those Quarters he was in possession of, as Places that were well fortify'd, and not easy to be attack'd, *Timoleon* divided his Forces into three parts, and fell upon that side himself where the River *Anapus* runs, and which was most strong and difficult of access, commanding Others that were led by *Isus*, a *Corinthian* Captain, to make their Assault from the Post of *Acradina*, while *Dinarchus* and *Demaretus*, that brought him the last Supply from *Corinth*, should with a third Division attempt that Quarter which is call'd *Epipolæ*. So that a forcible Impression being made from every side at once, the Soldiers of *Icetes* were beaten off and put to flight. Now that the City came to be taken by Storm, and fall suddenly into their hands, upon the Defeat and Recession of the Enemy, we must in all justice ascribe This to the Valour of the Combatants, and the wise Conduct of their General;

ral; but that not so much as a Man of the *Corinthians* was either slain or wounded in the Action, That the good Fortune of *Timoleon* seems to challenge for her own Work, as striving out of a Jealous Fondness, to exceed and obscure His Fortitude by Her extraordinary Favours; that Those who should hear him commended for his noble Deeds, might rather admire the Happiness than the Merit of them: For the Fame of what was done, did not only pass through all *Sicily*, and run over *Italy* in a trice, but even *Greece* itself after a few days came to ring also with the greatness of his Exploit; insomuch that Those of *Corinth*, who could hardly believe their Auxiliaries were yet landed on the Isle, had tidings brought them at the same time that they were both safe and Conquerors; in so prosperous a course did Affairs run, while Fortune added Haste and Quickness as a new Ornament, to set off the native Lustre of that Performance. *Timoleon* being Master of the Cittadel; avoided the Error which *Dion* had been guilty of before; for he spar'd not that Place for the beauty and sumptuousness of its Fabrick, but declining the Causes of that Suspicion, which did first slander, and then destroy him, he made a publick Cryer give notice, *that all the Syracusians who were willing to have a hand in the Work, should bring Pickaxes and Mattocks, and other Instruments, and help him to demolish that Fortrefs of Tyranny.* When they all came up with one accord, looking upon that Order and that Day as the surest foundation of their Liberty, they not only pull'd down the Castle, but overturn'd the Palaces and Monuments adjoyning, and whatever else might preserve any Memory of former Tyrants. Having soon levell'd and clear'd the Place, he immediately caused a Common-Hall to be erected there for the Seat of Judicature, gratifying the Citizens by this means, and building Popular Govern-
ment

ment on the Fall and Ruin of Tyranny. Tho' the City was thus recover'd out of the Hands of Tyrants and Foreigners, yet was it a Place destitute of its Inhabitants, Many of whom had perish'd in the course of the Civil Wars, and Seditions, and Others had withdrawn to escape the Tyrants ; so that the Market-place was over-grown with such Quantity of rank Herbage, that it became a Pasture for their Horses, the Grooms lying along in the Grass as they fed by them. Most of the other Towns were likewise desolate, and became Harbours for Stags and wild Boars ; insomuch that They who had Leisure went frequently a Hunting, and found Game enough in the Suburbs, and under the Walls ; whilst None of Those, who had possess'd themselves of Castles, or made Garrisons in the Country, cou'd be perswaded to quit their Strong Holds, or listen to any Invitation of returning back into the City ; so much did they All dread the very Name of Assemblies, Corporations, and Tribunals, which they look'd on as so many Nurseries of Tyranny. Hereupon *Timoleon*, and the small Remains of the *Syracusians*, considering that vast Desolation, and how little hope there was to have it otherwise supplied, thought good to write unto the *Corinthians*, that they would send a Colony out of *Greece*, to Re-people *Syracuse*, for else the Land about it would lie fallow and unimprov'd, so as never to recover itself. At the same time they expected to be involv'd in a greater War from *Africa*, having News brought them, that *Mago* had kill'd himself, and that the *Carthaginians*, out of Rage for his ill Conduct in the late Expedition, had caused his Body to be nail'd upon a Cross, and that they were raising a mighty Force, with design to make another more formidable Descent upon *Sicily* the next Summer. These Letters from *Timoleon* being delivered at *Corinth*, and the Ambassadors of *Syracuse* beseeching

them at the same time, that they would take upon them the Care of their poor City, and once again become the Founders of it, the *Corinthians* were so far from taking Advantage of their Calamities, or appropriating that City to themselves, that in the first Place they made Proclamation by their Heralds in all those Places where the Games and Exercises, which they term sacred in *Greece*, are celebrated, and their solemn Meetings of greatest confluence, declaring that the *Corinthians* having destroy'd the Usurpation that was at *Syracuse*, and driven out the Tyrant, did thereby call home the *Syracusan Exiles*, and any other *Sicilian* that would come and dwell in the City, to an enjoyment of freedom under their own Laws, with promise that the Land should be divided among them in just and equal Proportions. And after This, sending Messengers into *Asia*, and the several Islands, where they understood that most of the scatter'd Fugitives did then reside, they made it their Request, that they would all repair to *Corinth*, upon assurance that the *Corinthians* would afford them Vessels, and Commanders, and a safe Convoy, at their own Charges; which noble Achievement of theirs, and such a generous Proposal, being thus spread about, they had the due Tribute, and most honourable Recompence of Praise and Benediction, for delivering the Country from Oppressors, and saving it from *Barbarians*, and restoring it at length to the rightful Owners of the Place; who when they were assembled at *Corinth*, and found how insufficient their Company was, besought the *Corinthians*, that they might have a Supplement of other Persons, as well out of Their City as the rest of *Greece*, to cohabit with them, which being made up to the number of 10000, they sail'd together unto *Syracuse*. By this time great Multitudes from *Italy* and *Sicily* had flock'd in to *Tomoleon*, so that, as *Athanis* the Historian reports, their entire Body did amount now to sixty thousand

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thousand Men ; among These he divided the Land, but sold the Houses for a thousand Talents ; by which Contrivance he both left it in the power of the old *Syracusians* to redeem their Own, and made that an occasion too of raising a Stock for the Community, which had been so much impoverish'd of late, and was so unable to defray other Expences, and especially Those of a War, that they expos'd their very Statues to Sale, a kind of regular Process being form'd in the Business, and sentence of Auction pass'd upon each of them by most Voices, as if they had been so many Criminals and condemn'd Persons : But it is said, the *Syracusians* did then agree to exempt and preserve the Statue of *Gelo*, one of their Ancient Kings, when all the rest were doom'd to suffer a common Sale, in Admiration and Honour of the Man, and (1) for the sake of that Victory he got over the *Carthaginian* Forces at the River *Himera*.

Syracuse being thus happily reviv'd, and replenish'd again by a general Concourse of its Inhabitants from all Parts, *Timoleon* was desirous now to rescue the other Cities from the like Bondage, and once for all to extirpate Arbitrary Government out of *Sicily*. For this purpose, marching into the Territories of those that exercised it, he compell'd *Iceles* first to renounce the *Carthaginian* Interest, and further to consent, that demolishing the Fortresses which were held by him, he should live among the *Leontines* as a private Person. *Leptines* also, the Tyrant of *Apollonia*, and divers other little Towns, after some Resistance made, seeing the danger he was in of being taken by Force, made a voluntary surrender of himself ; whereupon *Timoleon* spar'd his Life, and sent him

(1) He defeated *Hamilcar* who | thousand Men, in the Second
landed in *Sicily* with two hun- | Year of the seventy fifth Olym-
dred Vessels, and three hundred | piad.

away

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away to *Corinth*, counting it (1) a very glorious thing both for Himself and Country, that their Mother City should expose those *Sicilian* Tyrants to the view of other *Greeks*, living now in an exil'd and despicable condition. After This he return'd to *Syracuse*, in order to provide for the civil Government of that City, and make the most wholesome and necessary Laws in Conjunction with *Cephalus*, and *Dionysius*, two Lawyers who had been sent thither from *Corinth* for that purpose. In the mean while, having a mind that his hired Soldiers should not want Action, but rather enrich themselves by some Plunder from the Enemy, he dispatch'd *Dinarchus* and *Demaretus* with a select Body of them, into a certain Province that belong'd to the *Carthaginians*; who obliging several Cities to revolt from the *Barbarians*, did not only live in great abundance themselves, but rais'd Money from their Captives and their Prey to carry on the War. But when these Matters were transacting, the *Carthaginians* landed at the Promontory of *Lilybæum*, bringing with them an Army of 70000 Men, aboard 200 Galleys, besides 1000 other Vessels, laden all with Engines of Battery, and Chariots, and quantity of Corn, and other military Preparations, as if they did intend not to manage the War by piece-meal, and in parts, as heretofore, but to drive the *Grecians* altogether and at once out of *Sicily*. And indeed it was a Force sufficient to seize and subdue the *Sicilians*, though they had then had the Entireness and Strength of a perfect Union among themselves, and much more when they were so ineebled through their own Distempers, and harass'd in pieces by one another. Hearing therefore that a Territory of their Dependance was laid waste,

(1) This, in reality, was much more honourable than all the Ro-

man Triumphs, to one that knows how to value true Glory.

they

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they presently made towards the *Corinthians* with great Fury, having *Asdrubal* and *Hamilcar* for their Generals; the Report of whose Multitude and Approach flying suddenly to *Syracuse*, they were so terrify'd there at the greatness of such a Power, that hardly 3000, among so many Myriads of them, had the Courage to take up Arms and join themselves with *Timoleon*. The Strangers that serv'd for Pay were not above 4000 in all, and about 1000 of those grew faint-hearted by the way, and forsook *Timoleon* in his march towards the Enemy, looking on him as a frantick and distracted Person, destitute of that Sense and Consideration, which might have been expected from one of his Age, who must needs venture out against an Army of 70000 Men, with no more than 5000 Foot, and 1000 Horse; and when he should have staid to defend the City with the small Forces which he had, chose rather to remove them eight Days Journey from *Syracuse*, so that if they were beaten out of the Field, there was no Place of Retreat whither they might retire with Safety; or, if they happen'd to die upon the spot, there would be none to take care of their Burial. *Timoleon* however reckon'd it some kind of Advantage, that they had thus discover'd themselves before the Battel, and encouraging the rest, he led them with all Speed to the River (1) *Crimesus*, where it was told him the *Carthaginians* were drawn together; and as he was marching up an Ascent, from the top of which they might take a view of the Army, and strength of the E-

(1) *Crimesus* or *Cremisus*, a River of *Sicily* towards the West. *Bochart* pretends it was so call'd by the *Phenicians* from the Word *Garmes* for *Garphe*, which signifies Smallage, because there grows great Plenty of that Herb all there-

abouts: And for this Reason a small City, that stood at the Mouth of the River *Crimesus* was call'd *Selinontum*, and a small River that ran by it, *Selinus*, which is the Name of Smallage or Parsly in *Greek*.

nemy,

nemy, there met him by chance a company of Mules loaden with Parsly, which his Soldiers conceiv'd to be an ominous Occurrence, or ill-boding Token, because This is the very Herb where-with we usually adorn the Sepulchres of the Dead; which Custom gave birth to that despairing Proverb, when we pronounce of one who is dangerously sick, *That he has need of nothing but Parsly*, which is in effect to say *he is a dead Man, and ready for his Grave*. Now that *Timoleon* might ease their Minds, and free them from these Superstitious Thoughts, and such a fearful Expectation, he put a stop to his March, and having alledg'd many other things in a Discourse suitable to the Occasion, he concluded it by saying, That a Garland of Triumph was here luckily brought them, and had fallen into their Hands of its own accord, as an Anticipation of Victory; inasmuch as the *Corinthians* do crown Those that get the better in their *Isthmian* Games, with Chaplets of Parsly, accounting it a sacred Wreath, and proper to their Country; for Parsly was then the conquering Ornament of the *Isthmian*, as it is now of the *Nemean* Sports, and it is long since Branches of Pine came to succeed, and be made use of for that purpose.

Timoleon therefore, as I said, having thus bespoke his Soldiers, took part of the Parsly, where-with he made himself a Chaplet first, and then his Captains and their Companies did all crown themselves with it, in imitation of their Leader. (1) The Soothsayers then observing also two Eagles on the wing towards them, One of which bore a Dragon struck through with her Talons, and the other, as she flew, made a great and chear-

(1) This kind of Omen is relate 'em as Truths, no Body common in *Homer*. And since will be surpriz'd to find them us'd Historians make Use of 'em, and in Poetical Fictions.

ful kind of Noise, which argu'd Boldness and Assurance, they presently shew'd them to the Soldiers, who with one consent fell to supplicate the Gods, and call them in to their Assistance. It was now about the beginning of Summer, and towards the End of the Month called * *Thargelion*, when the season of the Year inclines towards the Solstice, the River then sending up a thick Mist, all the adjacent Plain was first darkned with the Fog, so that for a while they could discern nothing from the Enemies Camp, only a confused Buz and undistinguish'd mixture of Voices came up to the Hill, from the distant Motions and Clamours of so vast a Multitude. When the *Corinthians* had gain'd the top of the Hill and stood upon it, and had laid down their Bucklers to take breath and repose themselves, the Sun coming about, and drawing up the Vapours from below, the gross foggy Air that was now gather'd and condens'd above, did overcloud the Mountains, and all the under Places being clear and open, the River *Crimesus* appear'd to them again, and they could easily descry the Enemies passing over it, and moving in the following order: First with their Warlike Chariots, that were terribly appointed for the Conflict; after these came 10000 Foot-men, with white Targets on their Arms, whom they guess'd to be all *Carthaginians*, from the Splendor of their Weapons, the Slowness of their Motion, and Order of their March; and when several other Nations, flowing in behind them, did throng for Passage in a turbulent and unruly manner, *Timoleon* perceiving that the River gave them opportunity to single out as many of their Enemies as they had a mind to engage at once, and bidding his Soldiers observe how their Forces were divided into two separate Bodies by the Intervention of the Stream. Some being already got over, and
Others

* Which
answers to
our May.

Others still to ford it, he gave *Demarethus* Command to fall in upon the *Carthaginians* with his Horse, and disturb their Ranks, before they should be cast into a form of Battel: And coming down into the Plain himself, he made up his Right and Left Wing of other *Sicilians*, intermingling a few Strangers in each, but plac'd the Natives of *Syracuse* in the middle, with the stoutest Mercenaries he had, about his own Person, and then stay'd a little to observe the Success of his Horse; but when he saw they were not only hinder'd from grappling with the *Carthaginians*, by those armed Chariots, that ran to and fro before their Army, but forc'd continually to wheel about, to avoid the danger of having their Ranks broken, and then to make frequent Careers, as they had means to return upon them, he took his Buckler in his Hand, and crying out to the Foot, that they should follow him with Courage and Confidence, he seem'd to speak with a more than human Accent, and a Voice stronger than ordinary; whether it was that he strain'd it to that loudness, through an apprehension of the present Danger, and from the vehemence and ardour of his Mind to assault the Enemy, or else (as Many then were of Opinion) that (1) some God did exclaim within him in such a thundering Utterance. When his Soldiers gave a dreadful Eccho thereto, and besought him to lead them on without any further delay, he made a sign to the Horse, that they should draw off from the front where they had plac'd the Chariots, and fetching a side Compass, attack their Enemies in the Flank; then making his Van-guard firm, by joining Man to Man, and Buckler to Buckler, he caus'd the Trumpet to sound, and so bore in

(1) This seems further to justify *travagant and Poetical*, he only *Homer*, and to shew that in his follows the commonly receiv'd *Fictions*, which seem most ex- *pinions*.

with the *Carthaginians*, who did stoutly receive and sustain his first Onset; for having their Bodies arm'd with Breast-Plates of Iron and Helmets of Brass, beside great Bucklers to cover and secure them, they could easily repel the force of their Javelins: but when the business came to a decision by the Sword, where Mastery depends no less upon Art than Strength, all on a sudden there broke out terrible Thunders and fiery Flashes, darting forth from the Mountain tops; after which, the Gloominess that hover'd about the upper Grounds, and the Rocky Cliffs, descending to the place of Battel, and bringing a Tempest of Rain, Wind, and Hail along with it, was driven upon the *Greeks* behind, and fell only at their Backs, but discharg'd it self in the very Face of the *Barbarians*, and through the stormy Showers and continual Flames pouring down together from the Clouds, did dazle and confound their Sight: In which Accident there were many things that did sorely afflict them all, but chiefly their unexperienc'd Men, who had not been us'd to such Hardships, among which the very Claps of Thunder, and the ratling noise of their Weapons, beaten with the violence of Rain and Hail-stones, were not their least Annoyance, as That which kept them from hearing the Commands of their Officers. Beside This, the very Dirt also was a great hindrance to the *Carthaginians*, as less expedite and nimble in their Harness, they being, as I said before, all loaden with heavy Armour; and then their Jackets too, drench'd through with Water in the foldings thereof about their Bosom, grew unweildy and cumbersome to them as they fought, but gave the *Greeks* an advantage of overturning them with ease, and when they were once down, it was impossible under that weight to disengage themselves from the Mire, and rise again with their Weapons

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in their Hand : For the River *Crimesus*, swolt partly by the Rain, and partly by the stoppage of its Course, from the multitude of those that were passing through, did overflow its Banks, and the Level on each side lying under several Cavities and Confluences of Water, was fill'd with Rivulets and Currents that had no certain Channel, which the *Carthaginians* rolling about in, were very hardly beat ; so that in fine, the Storm and Torrent bearing still upon them, and the *Greeks* having cut in pieces 400 Men of their first Ranks, the whole Body of their Army began to fly, great numbers of which being overtaken in the Plain, were put to the Sword there ; and many of them, as they fled, falling foul upon Others that were yet coming over, they all tumbled and perish'd together, born down and overwhelm'd by the impetuosity of the River ; but the major part attempting to get up the Hills and so make their escape, were prevented and slain by Those that were lightly armed. It is said, that of 10000 which lay dead after the Fight, 3000 at least were all Natives of *Carthage*, a lamentable and uncommon loss to that City ; for Those that fell therein were inferiour to None among them, as to the quality of their Birth, or the wealthiness of their House, or the reputation of their Courage : Nor do their Records mention that so many natural *Carthaginians* were ever cut off before in any one Battel ; for they did usually employ the *Africans*, and *Spaniards*, and *Numidians*, in their Wars, so that if they chanc'd to be defeated, it was still at the cost and damage of other Nations. Now the *Greeks* did easily discover of what condition and account the Slain were, by the richness of their Spoils ; for when they came to seize upon the Prey, there was very little reckoning made either of Brass or Iron ; so great was the plenty of better Metals, and that abundance

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abundance of Silver and Gold, which fell into their Hands, for passing over the River they became Masters of their Camp and Carriages : As for the Captives, a great many of them were filch'd away, and sold privately by the Soldiers, but about 5000 were brought in, and deliver'd up for the benefit of the Publick : They took beside 200 of their warlike Chariots. The Tent of *Timoleon* did then afford a very graceful Sight and magnificent Appearance, being heaped up and hung round with all variety of Spoils and military Ornaments, among which there were 1000 Breast-Plates of rare Workmanship and Beauty, and 10000 Bucklers expos'd to view : But the Victors being but Few to strip so Many that were vanquish'd, and meeting too with great Booty, it was the third day after the Fight before they could erect and finish the Trophy of their Conquest. *Timoleon* sent tidings of his Victory to *Corinth*, with the best and goodliest Arms he had taken, as a Proof of it ; that he might render his Country an object of Emulation to the whole World, when of all the Cities of *Greece*, Men should there only behold their chief Temples adorn'd, not with *Grecian* Spoils, nor Offerings that were got by the Bloodshed and Plunder of their own Countrymen and Kindred, (which must needs create very unpleasant Remembrances) but such as had been stripp'd from *Barbarians*, and Enemies to their Nation, with the most handsome Titles inscrib'd, which did manifest the Justice as well as Fortitude of the Conquerors, namely, That the People of *Corinth*, and *Timoleon* their General, having redeem'd the *Grecians* that dwelt in *Sicily*, from *Carthaginian* Bondage, did make an Oblation thereof to the Gods, in acknowledgment of the advantage they had gain'd by their Favour. Having done This, he left his hired Soldiers in the Enemies Country,

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to drive and carry away all they could throughout the Province of *Carthage*, and so march'd with the rest of his Army to *Syracuse*, where he made an Edict for Banishing the 1000 Mercenaries, which had basely deserted him before the Battel, and obliged them to quit the City before Sun set, who sailing into *Italy*, lost their Lives there by the hands of the *Brutians*, though they had given them the assurance of publick Faith; thus receiving from God, the Avenger of Perfidiousness and Falshood, a very just Reward of their own Treachery. But *Mamercus* the Tyrant of *Catana*, and *Iceles*, after all either envying *Timoleon* the Glory of his Exploits, or fearing him as One that would keep no Agreement, nor have any Peace with Tyrants, made a League with the *Carthaginians*, and press'd them very much to send a new Army and Commander into *Sicily*, unless they would be content to hazard All, and to be wholly ejected out of that Island. Whereupon they dispatch'd *Gisco* with a Navy of 70 Sail, who took several *Grecians* into Pay, That being the first time they had ever been list'd for the *Punick* Service; but then it seems they began to admire them, as the most pugnacious and invincible of Mankind. The Inhabitants of *Messina* entring now with one accord into a general Conspiracy, slew 400 of those Strangers which *Timoleon* had sent to their Assistance; and within the Dependencies of *Carthage*, at a Place call'd (1) *Hieres*, (i. e. Sacred) the Mercenaries that serv'd under *Euthymus* the *Leucadian* were all cut off, by an Ambush that was laid for

(1) There is no Place in *Sicily* of this Name. For which Reason *P. Lubin* suspects the Reading in this Place, and thinks it ought to be *Ἱεράς* instead of *Ἱεζές*; near a Place call'd *Hietes*. For *Stephanus de Urbib.* says *Hietes* is the Name of a Castle in *Sicily*; and *P. Lubin* thinks it to be the same that is now call'd *Lato*, in that Part of the Island call'd the Vale of *Mazara*, thirty Miles from *Palermo* to the South.

them :

them: From which Accidents however the Felicity of *Timoleon* grew chiefly remarkable; for These were the Men that with *Philodemus* of *Phocis*, and *Onomarchus*, (1) had forcibly broke into the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, and were partakers with Them in the Sacrilege; so that being hated and shunn'd by All, as so many execrable Persons, they were constrain'd to wander about in *Peloponnesus*, when for want of Others, *Timoleon* was glad to entertain them in his Expedition for *Sicily*, where they happen'd to be successful, in whatever Enterprize they engaged under his Conduct. But the most and greatest of those Recounters being now ended, he sent them abroad for the Relief and Defence of his Party in several Places, and here they were lost and consum'd at a distance from him, not all together, but in small parcels; the Ven-

(1) This was what gave Rise to the War, call'd *Holy*. The *Amphictyons* having condemn'd the People of *Phocis* in a Fine of several Talents, for having plunder'd the Country of *Cyrrha*, which was dedicated to *Apollo*, and that People being unable to pay it, their whole Country was judg'd forfeited to that God. One of the chief Persons of *Phocis*, whose Name was *Philomelus*, and not *Philodemus* the Son of *Theotimus*, call'd the People together, put himself at the Head of 'em, and seizing all the Treasure that was in the Temple of *Delphi*, employ'd it to raise Forces, and so began a War that continued six Years with various Success. *Philomelus* being defeated, in his Flight fell headlong down a Precipice; and *Onomarchus* who succeeded in his Place was slain by his own Soldiers, and his Body expos'd on a Cross. *Phayllus* his

Brother who succeeded Him, was seiz'd all at once with a Consumption, that soon kill'd him. After Him, the Command fell to *Phalecus* the Son of *Onomarchus*, but He was quickly depriv'd of it, and died afterwards in *Crete*. Of all those Persons that had been guilty of Sacrilege, there was scarce One but dy'd of a violent Death. Nay, their very Wives that wore the Ornaments their Husbands had brought out of the Temple, died miserably. One of 'em that had wore *Helena's* Necklace, died shamefully in the very Act of Prostitution: and another that had wore a Necklace of *Heryphila's* was burnt to Death in her own House, which her Son in a Fit of Madness had set on Fire. This War begun the last Year of the hundred and fifth Olympiad, and ended the first Year of the hundred and eighth.

geance then inflicted making *Timoleon's* Prosperity an Excuse of its delay, that good Men might not suffer any harm or prejudice by the punishment and ruin of the wicked; insomuch that the Benevolence and Kindness which the Gods had for *Timoleon* came to be discern'd and admir'd no less, from his very Miscarriages and Disasters, than from Any of those former Atchievements he had been the most fortunate and successful in.

But amidst their late Misadventures, That which did vex and provoke the *Syracusans* most, was their being affronted too by the insolent Behaviour of these Tyrants; for *Mamercus* in particular valuing himself much upon the faculty he had to make Poems and Tragedies, took occasion to boast of That and his Victory together, when coming to present the Gods with the Bucklers of their hired Soldiers that were slain by him, he caus'd such an abusive Elegy or Epigram to be under-written.

(1) *These Shields with Purple, Gold, and Ivory wrought,
Were taken by us that with poor ones fought.*

After these things, while *Timoleon* march'd to *Calauria*, *Icetes* made an inroad into the Borders of *Syracuse*, where he met with considerable Booty; and having done great mischief and havock, he return'd back even by (2) *Calauria* it self, in contempt of *Timoleon*, and the slender Force he had then with him. He suffering *Icetes* to pass by, pursu'd him with his Horsemen and light Infantry,

(1) They were Bucklers that had been taken out of the Temple at *Delphi*. *Caulonia*, a City of *Italy* in the Country of the *Locri*; for *Timoleon* did not go out of *Sicily*;

(2) This *Calauria* is not a little Island in the Bay of *Argos*; it will appear by what follows that it was a City of *Sicily*, tho' its situation be not now known.

which

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which *Icetes* perceiving, cross'd the River *Damyrias*, and then stood as it were in a posture to receive him ; for the difficulty of that Passage, and the height and steepness of the Bank on each side, gave advantage enough to make him thus confident. But there happen'd a strange Contention and Dispute among the Officers of *Timoleon*, which did a little retard the Conflict, for there was none of them that would let another pass over before him to engage the Enemy, but every one did Challenge it as a Right, to venture first, and begin the Onset ; so that their fording over was like to be tumultuous and without Order, while they did mutually jostle and press forward, striving which should be the foremost. *Timoleon* therefore desiring this Controversie might be decided by Lot, took a Ring from each of the Pretenders, which he cast into his own Robe, and having shak'd them together, the first he drew out and expos'd to view, had by good Fortune the Figure of a Trophy engraven for the Seal of it, which when the younger Captains saw, they all shouted for joy, and without waiting any longer to see how Chance would determine it for the rest, every Man took his way through the River, with all the speed he could make, and fell to buckle with the Enemies, who were not able to bear up against the violence of their Attack, but running away in haste, they left their Arms behind them all alike, and 1000 of their Men dead upon the Place. It was not long after that *Timoleon* marching up to the City of *Leontium*, took *Icetes* alive, and his Son *Eupolemus*, and *Euthymus* the Commander of his Horse, that were bound and brought to him by their own Soldiers. *Icetes*, with the Strippling his Son, were then executed as Tyrants and Traitors ; and *Euthymus*, though a brave Man, and one of singular Courage, was slain without

D 3

Mercy,

Mercy, being charged with some contemptuous Language that had been us'd by him, in disparagement of the *Corinthians*; for it is said, that when they first sent their Forces into *Sicily*, he told the People of *Leontium*, in a Speech, *That the News did not sound terrible, nor was any great danger to be fear'd*——(1) *if the Corinthian Dames were come abroad.* Now, from hence we may remark, that Men are usually more stung and galled by a few reproachful Words, than many hostile Actions; for they bear the slightings of Disdain and Affront with less patience, than they will Harm, or Mischief; since to plague and damnify by Deeds, is what the World does allow and count pardonable from Enemies, because it is a necessary thing, and no less can be expected in a State of War; whereas the Virulence and Contumely of the Tongue, is an Argument and Expression of needless Hatred, and seems to proceed from a Superfluity of Malice and excessive Rancour. When *Timoleon* came back to *Syracuse*, the Citizens brought the Wives and Daughters of *Icetes* and his Son to a publick Tryal, who being there condemn'd to die, did all suffer accordingly; which seems to have been the most disagreeable and unhandsome Action of *Timoleon's* Life; for if he had interpos'd his Authority to hinder it, the poor Women doubtless had never come to this unhappy End; but he was

(1) This seems to be a Parody, *it.* *Euthymus* turns the Sense or Transposition and Alteration of a Verse or two of *Euripides* in his Tragedy call'd *Medea*, in which that Princess says, v. 24.

Κοεῖνθιαὶ γυναῖκες, ἔξελθον
δομῶν,
Μὴ μοι τι μέμψῃσθαι.

*Ye Women of Corinth, if I leave
my House, do not reproach me for*

it. *Euthymus* turns the Sense of it pleasantly enough. Of *Κοεῖνθιαὶ γυναῖκες*, which is the Vocative Case in *Euripides*, *Ye Women of Corinth*, he makes a Nominative; *the Women of Corinth.* And of the Word *ἔξελθον*, which is the first Person singular, *I leave*, he makes the third Person plural, *had left.* *Euthymus* paid dear for this Parody.

to connive thereat, and give them up to the incens'd Multitude, that did thus revenge the Injuries of *Dion*, who expell'd *Dionysius*; for it was this very *Iceles* which took *Arete* the Wife, and *Aristomache* the Sister of *Dion*, with a Son of His that had not yet pass'd his Childhood, and threw them all together into the Sea alive; as (1) I have related more at large in the Life of *Dion*. After This he mov'd towards *Catana* against *Mamercus*, who giving him Battel near the River (2) *Abolus*, was overthrown and put to flight, losing above 2000 Men, a considerable part of which were the *Punick* Troops, that *Gisco* sent in to his Assistance.

Upon this Defeat, the *Carthaginians* besought him to make a Peace with them, which he consented to, under the observance of these Articles; 1. That they should confine themselves to that part of the Country which lies within the River (3) *Lycus*. 2. That such as were desirous to transplant themselves and remove thence to the *Syracusians*, should have the Liberty of doing it with their whole Family and Fortune. And last of all, That They of *Carthage* should from that Day forward renounce all Leagues and Associations, whereby they might any ways stand engag'd to succour and relieve the *Sicilian* Tyrants. *Mamercus*, forsaken now, and despairing of Success, went aboard for *Italy*, with a Design to bring in

(1) From this Passage, and another before, it seems as if the Life of *Dion* was written before this. And yet in *Dion's* Life *Plutarch* speaks as if this was written first. For he says, *as we have written in the Life of Timoleon*. 'Tis possible that in both, those words have been added since, and according to the different Order in which these Lives were plac'd.

(2) *Plutarch* is the only Person I know of that calls this River *Abolus*. By *Ptolomy* and Others it is call'd *Alabus*, *Alabis*, or *Alabon*. 'Tis a River near *Hybla*, between *Catana* and *Syracuse*.

(3) *Diodorus* gives this River the same Name. But 'tis a Question whether both in *Diodorus* and *Plutarch* we ought not to alter it for *Halycus*.

the *Leucanians* against *Timoleon*, and the People of *Syracuse* : But when Those of his Company tack'd about with their Galleys, and Landing again at *Sicily*, deliver'd up *Catana* to *Timoleon*, he was forc'd to shift for himself, and make his Escape to *Messina*, that was under the Tyranny of *Hippo*. *Timoleon* then coming up against them, and besieging the City both by Sea and Land, *Hippo*, fearful of the Event, endeavour'd to slip away in a Vessel, which the People of *Messina* surpriz'd as it was a putting off, and seizing on his Person, and sending for their Children from School into the Theatre, to be entertain'd as it were with the most goodly Spectacle of a Tyrant punished, they first publickly scourg'd, and then put him to death. Whereupon *Mamercus* made surrender of himself to *Timoleon*, with this Proviso, that he should be try'd at *Syracuse*, and *Timoleon* have no hand in his Accusation : Whither he was brought accordingly, and appearing to plead before the People, he essay'd to pronounce an Oration he had long before made in his own Defence ; but finding himself interrupted by Noise and Clamours, and observing from their Aspect and Demeanour that the whole Assembly was inexorable, he threw off his upper Garment, and running cross the Theatre as hard as he could drive, violently dash'd his Head against one of the Posts where they were sitting, with intention to have kill'd himself; but he had not the fortune to perish, as he design'd, but was taken up alive, and hurry'd to the Execution, which was Such as is usually inflicted on Thieves and Highway-men.

After this manner did *Timoleon* cut the Nerves of Tyranny, and put a period to their Wars : For whereas at his first entring on *Sicily*, the Island was all savage and hateful to the very Natives, by reason of the Evils and Miseries they suffer'd there,
He

He did so civilize, and quiet, and reform the Country, and render it so desirable to all Men, that even Strangers now came by Sea to inhabit those Towns and Places which their own Citizens had forsaken and left desolate : For *Agrigentum* and *Gela*, two famous Cities that had been ruin'd and laid waste by the *Carthaginians* after the *Attick* War, were then Peopled again, the One by *Megellus* and *Pheristus*, that came from *Elea* in *Peloponnesus*, the Other by *Gorgus* from *Cea*, one of the Isles called *Cyclades*, who having pick'd up some of the old Inhabitants among other Company, brought them back with the rest to their former Dwellings : To all which *Timoleon* did not only afford a secure and peaceable Abode in their new Settlement, after so obstinate a War, but making provision of other Necessaries, and giving them a chearful Assistance in all things, he had the same Love and Respect from them, as if he had been their Founder ; which Inclination and Esteem for him running through all the rest of the *Sicilians*, there was no Proposal for Peace, nor Sanction by Law, nor Assignment of Dwelling, nor any Form and Order of Government, which they did acquiesce in, or could think well of, unless He were at the end of it, as a chief Architect to finish and adorn the Works, superadding some graceful Touches from his own Hand, which might render it agreeable and pleasing both to God and Man : For although *Greece* had produc'd several Persons of extraordinary Worth, and much renown'd for their Atchievements in his time, such as *Timotheus*, and *Agefilaus*, and *Pelopidas*, and the great *Epaminondas*, whom *Timoleon* did admire, and most endeavour to imitate, above all the rest ; yet the Lustre of their brightest Actions was mingled with an alloy of certain Violence and Labour, insomuch that Some of them became matter of Reproof, and

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a Subject of Repentance ; whereas there is not any one Fact of *Timoleon's* (setting aside the necessity of That in reference to his Brother) whereunto, as *Timæus* does observe, we may not fitly apply that Exclamation of *Sophocles* ;

*O Gods ! What Venus, or what Grace Divine,
Touch'd the Performance here, and made it shine ?*

(1) For as the Poetry of *Antimachus*, and the Portraits (2) of *Dionysius*, both Natives of *Colophon*, having force and vigour enough in them, did yet appear to be strained and elaborate Pieces, when the Pictures of (3) *Nichomachus*, and the Verses of *Homer*,

(1) *Antimachus* was an Epick Poet that liv'd in the Days of *Socrates* and *Plato*. He was the Author of a Poem call'd *Thebais*. The Ancients charg'd his Style with being harsh and bombastick. *Quintilian*, in the first Chapter of his tenth Book gives this Character of him. *Contra in Antimacho vis & gravitas, & minime vulgare eloquendi genus laudem habet ; sed quamvis ei secundas fere grammaticorum consensus deferat, & affectibus & jucunditate, & dispositione, & omnino arte deficitur, ut plane manifesto appareat, quanto sit aliud proximum esse, aliud secundum.* On the contrary, in *Antimachus* there is Force and Solidity, and his Diction is so far uncommon, that it is valuable and deserves Commendation ; but tho' the Grammarians generally allow him the next Place to *Homer*, 'tis certain that in his Works, there are neither Sentiments, Sweetness nor Order, nor any Art at all ; from

whence we see the vast Difference between coming near, and having the next Place to that great Poet.

(2) It ought to be translated thus ; for *Dionysius* was a Painter that only drew Portraits, and no other kind of Paintings ; for which Reason he was call'd *Anthropographus*, Man-Painter. *Plin. xxxv. 10. contra Dionysius nihil aliud quam homines pinxit, ob id Anthropographus cognominatus.*

(3) *Nichomachus* was a very great Painter, the Son and Disciple of *Aristodemus*. People gave vast Prices for his Works. *Tabula singula oppidorum vanabant opibus*, says *Pliny*. What *Plutarch* says here, that his Paintings seem'd easy, and not to have cost him much Labour and Pains, is agreeable to what *Pliny* writes, that no Body painted so fast as he did, *nec fuit alius in arte velocior* ; which shews a great Facility ; a Proof of which is as follows. *Aristratus* the Tyrant of *Sicyonia* having

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(1) *Homer*, besides other Advantages of Strength and Beauty, have this peculiar Excellence, that they seem to come readily from them, and to be wrought off with ease, and a stroke of Mastery; so likewise if with the Expeditions and Conduct of *Epaminondas*, or *Agefilaus*, that were full of Toil and Strugling, we compare That of *Timoleon*, which had much smoothness and facility, join'd with the Splendor and Worthiness of what he did, it will appear to All that consider well, and judge rightly, to be the effect not of simple Fortune, but rather of a prosperous and happy Courage; tho' he himself did modestly ascribe the great Success of his Undertakings to the sole Favour of Providence; for both in the Letters which he wrote to his Friends at *Corinth*, and in Those Speeches he made to the People of *Syracuse*, he would say, *That he was very thankful to*

having made Choice of him to paint a Monument he design'd to erect to the Poet *Telestus*, and having agreed with him for the Price, on Condition that it shou'd be finish'd by a certain Day; and *Nichomachus* not appearing till a few Days before That on which he had agreed to deliver the Picture; the Tyrant was so much provok'd that he was going to punish him; but the Painter made good his Agreement, and in those few Days that were left perform'd his Work, with no less surprising Mastery than Speed. *Celeritate & arte mirâ.* Plin.

(1) Here *Plutarch* gives *Homer* a high Encomium. Among the many Beauties and Perfections of his Verses, they have still this further Excellency, that they appear free and easy, and there is no

Labour nor Pains to be discern'd in them. And yet in our Days that very Facility which *Plutarch* commends and admires, some Criticks think a Fault; and because there appears nothing of Labour and Pains in 'em, despise 'em, and fancy they cou'd make a thousand such in a Day. But the Experience of all Ages has contradicted this injudicious Sentiment of our modern Criticks, and confirm'd *Plutarch's* Opinion. For no Poet since *Homer* has ever been able to attain that happy Facility. Thus *Quintilian* concludes his Encomium on that Poet with these remarkable Words, that he surpass'd the Reach of Human Understanding; *ut magni sit viri virtutes ejus, non amulatione, quod fieri non potest, sed intellectu fiqui.* lib. x. cap. i.

Fortune

The L I F E of

(1) *Fortune*, who (having a mind to preserve Sicily) was pleas'd to honour Him with the Name and Title of the Deliverance She vouchsafed it. And having built a Chappel in his House, he there sacrific'd to (2) *Fortune*, who presides over Chance, as a Deity that much favour'd him, and Devoted the House it self to the same sacred Genius; that being a Fabrick which the *Syracusians* had rais'd for him, as a Reward and Monument of his brave Exploits, whereunto they annex'd the most delicious

(1) *Timoleon* did not confels his Obligations to God, but to *Fortune*, which he expresses in the Masculine gender $\tau\tilde{\omega} \Theta\epsilon\tilde{\omega}$; and this is what has deceiv'd Interpreters, the forgetting that both Gods and Goddeses are spoke of in both Genders. Without going any further to prove this, *Plutarch* two Lines lower says ἰσπῶ δαίμονι , that is to say, *Fortune*; but this is not the hardest Thing to be understood in this Place of *Plutarch*, as will appear by reading what follows.

(2) There is not perhaps in all these Lives any Place that has been less understood, or that better deserves to be explain'd. *Plutarch* shews here the Distinction Philosophers have made between *Fortune* $\tauύχην$, and *Chance* $\alphaὐτόματον$; The Deliverance of *Sicily* that is the Work of *Fortune*; The Deliverance of it by *Timoleon*, that was *Chance* $\alphaὐτόματον$, the Work of $\tauύχης \alphaὐτοματίας$, for it might have been deliver'd by some Body else as well as by him. Let us explain this Distinction more at large by some Example. The Delay of *Socrates's* Execution was occasion'd by crowning the Sacred Vessel the

Evening before he was condemn'd; this was a Cast of *Fortune*, but yet had its particular Causes, in every Thing that preceded, and occasion'd the deferring of that Ceremony. But that the adorning and crowning the Ship should happen just the Evening before *Socrates* was condemn'd, and so retard his Death, this was purely *Chance* $\alphaὐτόματον$, which seems to rely on Nothing at all, but to be wholly independent; tho' in reality it is no more so in the order of Providence, than such Events as seem most certain and determin'd. Let us make Use of another Example, which we find in *Timoleon's* Life. That a Man whose Father had been formerly murder'd, shou'd twenty Years after meet with the Murderer in a Temple, and kill him; this may properly be call'd *Fortune*. But that he shou'd kill him the very Moment he was going to assassinate *Timoleon*, and by that means save his Life, this was meer *Chance*. And this was the Reason why *Timoleon* dedicated a Chappel in his House to *Fortune* under the Name of $\alphaὐτοματίας$, who presides over *Chance*.

and

and goodly Manor of their whole Country, where he kept his Residence for the most part, and enjoy'd a sweet Privacy with his Wife and Children that came to him from *Corinth*; (1) for he return'd thither no more, as unwilling to be concern'd in the Broils and Tumults of *Greece*, or expose himself to the publick Envy, (that ever-fatal Mischief which many great Commanders do run upon, from an unsatiable Appetite of Honour and Authority) but wisely chose to spend the Remainder of his Days in *Sicily*, and there to partake of those Blessings he had brought among them, the greatest whereof was, to behold so many Cities flourish, and so many thousands of People live happy through his means and procurement. But as all the Larks of that tufted sort which the *Latins* call *Cassite*, must, as *Simonides* proverbially speaks, have a Crest on their Heads, so in every Republick there will start up some lewd Sycophant to raise Calumnies, as it happen'd at *Syracuse*, where two of their popular Spokesmen, *Laphystius* and *Demænetus* by Name, fell to slander *Timoleon*; the former of which requiring him to put in Sureties, that he would answer to a certain Indictment should be brought against him, *Timoleon* would not suffer the Citizens, who were incens'd at his Demand, to oppose the Man, and hinder him from proceeding, since He of his own accord had been at all that trouble, and run so many dangerous Risks for this very end and purpose, that every one of them who had a mind to try matters by Law, should freely have recourse to it. And when *Demænetus*, in a full Audience

(1) But how came the People of *Corinth* to suffer the Person they had made General of their Forces, and who was not only the greatest Ornament of their City, but of all *Greece*, to quit his Country, and settle at *Syracuse*? Methinks the Mother shou'd have been jealous of the Daughter's Glory.

of the People, laid several things to his charge, which had been done while he was General, he made no other Reply to him, but only said, *He was much indebted to the Gods, for granting the Request he had so often made them, namely, that he might live to see the Syracusians enjoy that liberty of Speech which they now seem'd to be Masters of.* Timoleon therefore having, by Confession of All, perform'd the greatest and the noblest Actions of any Grecian of his Age, and alone gotten the preheminance in those Things, to which their Orators did always exhort the *Greeks*, by such Harangues and Panegyrics as they usually made at their solemn National Assemblies, and being by the Favour of Fortune removed, unspotted and without Blood, from the Calamities of Civil War, wherein Ancient Greece was soon after involv'd; having also given sufficient Proofs, as of his sage Conduct and manly Courage to the *Barbarians* and *Tyrants*, so of his Justice and Gentleness to the *Greeks*, and all his Friends in general; having moreover rais'd the greater part of those Trophies he won in Battel, without any Tears shed, or any Mourning worn, by the Citizens either of *Syracuse* or *Corinth*, and within less than eight years space deliver'd *Sicily* from its old Grievances and Mischiefs, and intestine Distempers, and given it up free to the Native Inhabitants, his Eyes began to fail him as he grew in Years, and in time he became perfectly blind; (1) not that he had done any thing himself that might occasion this Defect, or was depriv'd of his Sight (2) by any Outrage of Fortune, but it

(1) *Plutarch* adds this to prevent the Superstitious Fancies of People, who commonly imagine that when any remarkable Misfortune happens, and especially to Persons of distinguish'd Eminency, that 'tis sent as a Punishment for some Fault they have committed, some heinous Crime they have been guilty of.

(2) By the Word *παιγιωνδεis* *Plutarch* represents Fortune as a drunken Person that is apt to use his best Friends ill.

seems to have been some in-bred and hereditary weakness that was founded in natural Causes, which by degrees came to discover it self; for it is said, that divers of his Kindred and Family were subject to the like gradual Decay, and lost all use of their Eyes, as He did, in their declining Years; but *Athanis* the Historian tell us, that even during the War against *Hippo* and *Mamercus*, while he was in his Camp at *Myle*, there appear'd a white Speck within his Eye, from whence all did foresee the total Blindness that was coming on him: However this did not hinder him then from continuing the Siege and prosecuting that War, till he got Both the Tyrants into his Power; but upon his coming back to *Syracuse*, he presently resign'd the Authority of sole Commander, and besought the Citizens to excuse him from any further Service, seeing things were already brought to so fair an issue. Now it is not so much to be wondred, that he himself should bear the Misfortune without any marks of Trouble; but that Respect and Gratitude which the *Syracusians* shew'd him when he was stark-blind, may justly deserve our Admiration, going themselves to visit him in Troops, and bringing all the Strangers that travell'd through their Country to his House and Manor, that They also might have the pleasure to see their noble Benefactor; making it the great matter of their Joy and Exultation, that when, after so many brave and happy Exploits, he might have return'd with Triumph into *Greece*, he should despise all the glorious Preparations that were there made to receive him, and by a strange kind of Endearment, chose rather to abide there, and end his days among Them: Whereas therefore several other things were decreed and done in honour of *Timoleon*, I reckon this Vote of the *Syracusians* to be a signal Testimony of their value
for

for him, viz. *That whenever they shou'd happen to be at War with any foreign Nation, they should make use of none but a Corinthian General.* And the method of their proceeding in Council, was a handsome Demonstration of the same Deference for his Person; for determining Matters of less Consequence themselves, they ever called Him to advise in the more difficult Cases, and such as were of greater moment; Who being carried through the Market-place in a Litter, and that brought with him sitting into the Theatre, the People with one Voice saluted him by his Name; then returning that Civility, and pausing for a time, till the noise of their Gratulations and Blessings began to cease, after hearing the Business in debate he deliver'd his Opinion, which being confirm'd by a general Suffrage, his Servants went back with the Litter through the midst of their Assembly, the People waiting on him out with Acclamations and Applauses, and so returned to consider of such publick Causes, as they us'd to dispatch in his absence. Being thus cherish'd in his old Age, and with that Honour and Benevolence as if he had been their common Father, he was seiz'd with an Indisposition, which however slight at first did assist and enable Time to put a Period to his Life. As soon as he was dead the *Syracusians* had a certain time allow'd them wherein they were to provide whatever should be necessary for his Burial, and all the neighbouring Inhabitants and Sojourners were to make their appearance in a Body; so that the Funeral Pomp was set out with great Splendour and Magnificence in all other respects, and the Hearse being deck'd with rich Ornaments and Trophies of War, was born by a select number of young Gentlemen over that Ground where the Palace and Castle of *Dionysius* stood, before they were demolish'd by *Timoleon*. There attended on the Solemnity

Solemnity Several thousands of Men and Women, all crown'd with Flowers, all array'd in fresh and cleanly Attire, which made it look like the Procession of a publick Festival; the Discourse of all which, and their Tears mingled with the Praise and Benediction of the dead *Timoleon*, did manifestly shew that it was not any superficial Honour, or forced Homage, which they then paid him, but the Testimony of a just Sorrow for his Death, and the Expression and Recompence of true Kindness. The Bier at length being placed upon the pile of Wood that was kindled to consume his Corps, *Demetrius*, one of their loudest Cryers, began to read a Proclamation or a written Edict to this purpose:—*The People of Syracuse has made a special Decree to inter Timoleon the Son of Timodemus, that noble Corinthian, at the common Expence of 200 Attick*

* *Pounds, and to honour his Memory for ever by an appointment of annual Prizes (1) to be celebrated in Musick, and Horse-races, and all sorts of bodily Exercise, and that because he destroy'd Tyrants, and overthrew the Barbarians, and replenish'd many great Cities, that were ruinous and desolate before, with new Inhabitants, and then restor'd the Sicilians to a State of Freedom, and the Privilege of living under their own Laws.* Beside This, they made a Tomb for him in the Market-place, which they afterward built round with Galleries, and join'd certain Cloisters thereto, as a place of Exercise for their Youth, which had the Name of *Timoleon-teum*; and then keeping to that Form and Order

* In English Money
645 l. 16 s.
8 d.

(1) On these Occasions there was always a Prize contended for, which the Conqueror won. The Gymnastick Sports of running, wrestling, and other Exercises, were generally held after the Funeral, as we see in *Homer* and *Virgil*. But the *Syracusians* desert'd those for *Timoleon* till the Anniversary; to which they added Musick, that is to say, musical Performances, in which Poets and Musicians contended for Mastery, and such a Reward as was assign'd the Conqueror.

of Civil Policy, and observing those Laws and Constitutions (1) which He left them, they liv'd themselves (2) a long time in all manner of Prosperity.

(1) The *Sicilians* had Laws written by *Diocles*, which *Timoleon* only attended. All the Laws relating to Wills and Contracts he left unalter'd, because in those Matters they plainly follow'd the *Grecian* Customs; but he chang'd all that related to the civil Government, because every Thing had been subverted by Tyranny; and in these Affairs he made use of the Assistance of *Epicharmus* a *Comic* Poet, a Person of profound Knowledge and consummate Wisdom.

(2) It seems however that this Course of Prosperity was very much disturb'd or interrupted thirty years after, by the dreadful Cruelties of *Agathocles*, who having made himself Tyrant of *Syracuse*, put to Death the chiefest of its Citizens. *Diodor.* Book xix.







L. Cheron Inv.

V. 3. p. 67.

G. V. Guichet Sculp. 16

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THE
LIFE
OF
PAULUS EMILIUS.

I First undertook this History, that I might be serviceable unto Others, but go on and persevere in my Design, that I may advantage myself; whilst the Virtues of these great Men are (1) as a Looking-glass by which I learn how I ought to order and adorn my own Life. For by this means I enjoy the greatest Familiarity, and am no less conversant with every one of them by turns, than if the same Table and Bed were common to us

(1) History is the most faithful Looking-glass one can consult for the embellishing of the Mind, and curing it of its Imperfections. Plutarch has borrow'd this Idea from the 4th Scene of the 3d Act in the *Adelphi*, where *Demea* saith,

Denique
Inspicere, tanquam in Speculum, in
vita omnium

*Fubeo: atque ex aliis sumere ex-
emplum sibi.*

For, as *Livy* writes in his Preface,
*Hoc illud est precipue in Cognitione
rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis
te exempli documenta in illustri po-
sita Monumento intueri: inde tibi
tuaque reipubl. quod imitere capias;
inde sadum inceptum, sadum exitu
quod vites.*

Sculp. 16

both. When I read their Story, each particular Virtue and Excellence makes a deep Impression in my Mind; and hence I gather (1) how great and valuable the Owner of these Accomplishments must needs have been, and with Care collect the most beautiful and remarkable Passages of their Lives, as Patterns for Imitation. A greater Pleasure than which the Gods can scarce grant us, or a more ready way to teach us Virtue. (2) *Democritus* laid it down as a Principle in his Philosophy, (tho' utterly false, and tending to endless Superstitions,) That

(1) Those who are not acquainted with the *Greek* Poets lose a great many Graces, that are almost every where to be found in *Plutarch's* Style, and consist in his Allusion to some remarkable Passage in their Writings from whence he borrows their Expressions. These Words in the Original *Ὅσος ἔνν οἶός τε*, are taken from a Passage in the 24th Book of *Homer's Iliad*.

Ἦτοι Δαρδανίδης Πρίαμος
δαύμαζ' Ἀχιλλῆα,
Ὅσος ἔνν, οἶός τε, θεοῖσι γὰρ
αὐτὰρ ἕωκε.

Priamus in his turn survey'd Achilles; he consider'd how great, how wonderful he was; for indeed he look'd a God.

*No less the Royal Guest the Hero eyes,
His God-like Aspect, and majestic Size.* Pope.

This Application very much sets off the Grandeur of the Heroes of whom *Plutarch* is speaking.

(2) *Democritus* held that Sight was form'd after the following

Manner: that the visible Objects produced their Image or Resemblance in the ambient Air, which Image produced a Second, and that Second a Third still less than the former, and that finally the Last produced its Counterpart in the Eye. This is what he calls *ὄραν Κατ' εἰδῶλον ἐμπέσσειν*, to see by the Encounter of Forms or Images. This was not all; he maintain'd farther that Thought was form'd after the same manner, according as those Forms or Images struck upon the Imagination; that of These there were some Good, and some Evil; that the Good produced virtuous Thoughts in us, and the Evil the contrary. An ignorant, and stupid Philosophy! which can only tend to lead Men into endless Error, and Superstition. *Plutarch* has exceedingly well apply'd this whimsical Notion of *Democritus*, and instead of the ridiculous Forms or Images of that Philosopher, has substituted in their room the Examples of good or bad Men, such as they are represented to us in History, and which indeed are powerful Motives to incline us either to Vice or Virtue.

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there were Phantasms appearing in the Air, and tells us that we ought to pray, that Such may present themselves as are propitious, and that we may see Those that are agreeable to our Natures, and would instruct us in That which is good, rather than Such as are unfortunate, and would lead us into Vice. But my Method is, by daily conversing with History, and a diligent collection of what I read, to fix in my Mind things worthy Memory of the best and most Virtuous of Men. For thus am I enabled to free myself from that Contagion of Idleness and Vice, which I may have contracted from the ill company I am sometimes forc'd to converse with; it being a powerful Remedy, with a sedate and quiet Mind, seriously to consider such noble Examples. Of this kind are those of *Timoleon* the *Corinthian*, and *Paulus Emilius*, to write whose Lives is my present Business; Men not only equally famous for their Virtues, but Success; insomuch that they have left it doubtful, whether they owe their greatest Atchievements to good Fortune, or their own Prudence and Conduct.

Almost all Historians agree, that the Family of the *Emilii* was one of the most Ancient of the *Roman* Nobility; and those Authors who affirm that King *Numa* was Pupil to *Pythagoras*, tell us, that the first who gave the Name to his Posterity was *Marcus*, the Son of that Wise Man, who for his particular Eloquence and grace in Speech, was called *Emilius*. (1) The greatest part of this Race that have been celebrated for their Virtue, which

(1) From *Lucius Emilius*, who was Consul in the Year of Rome 270, and overcame the *Volscians*, to *Lucius Paulus*, the Father of *Paulus Emilius*, He who fell in the Battel at *Canna* in the Year 537, there had been many of those *Emilii* renown'd for their Victories

and Triumphs; so that it is surprising that none of Those who undertook to write the Lives of illustrious Men shou'd take no Notice of any of them but of this last, and of his Son, whose Life is now before us.

they with Zeal pursued, have been crown'd with Success; and even the Misfortune of *Lucius Emilius* at the Battel of *Cannæ*, gave ample Testimony of his Wisdom and Valour. For not being able to persuade his Colleague from hazarding the Battel, He, though against his Judgment, engaged with him, but was no Companion in his flight; On the contrary, when He that was so resolute to engage, deserted him in the midst of danger, He kept the Field, and died fighting. This *Emilius* had a Daughter nam'd *Emilia*, who was married to *Stipio* the Great, and a Son call'd *Paulus*, who is the Subject of my present History.

His first Appearance in the World was at a time (1) when *Rome* abounded with Men renown'd for their Virtues and other excellent Accomplishments, and even among These did *Emilius* in his Youth make a distinguishing Figure, tho' he followed not the ordinary Studies with the young Men of Quality of that Age, nor trod the same Paths to Fame. For he did not exercise himself in pleading Causes, nor would he stoop to salute, embrace, and entertain the Vulgar, which were the usual insinuating Arts by which Many grew Popular. Not that he was incapable of either, but chose to purchase a much more lasting Glory by his Valour, Justice, and Integrity; and 'twas by these Virtues he soon outstript all his Equals.

The first honourable Office he pretended to, was That of *Edile*, which he carried against twelve Competitors of such considerable Worth and Quality, that All of them in process of time were Consuls. Being afterwards chose into the number of Priests (2) call'd *Augurs*, who amongst the *Romans*

(1) The *Sempronii*, the *Albini*, the *Fabii Maximi*, the *Marcelli*, the *Scipios*, the *Fulvii*, *Sulpicii*, *Cestegii*, *Metelli*, and other illustrious Patriots. Such a City! Such an Age!

(2) These Priests had a College, into which all the Youth of Quality, who had Thoughts of advancing themselves in the Government, were admitted.

were to observe and register such Divinations as were made by the flight of Birds, or Prodigies in the Air; He with such Attention studied the ancient Customs of his Country, and so thoroughly understood the Religion of his Ancestors, that this Office, which was before only esteem'd a Title of Honour, (1) and upon that account sought after, was by Him brought to be one of the most sublime Arts: And proved that definition of Religion true, That it was the knowing how we ought to Worship the Gods. When he perform'd any part of his Duty he did it with great Skill and utmost Care, making it his only Business, not omitting any one Ceremony, or adding the least Circumstance, but always contending with his Companions of the same Order, about things that might seem inconsiderable, and instructing them, that though they might think the Deity was easily pacified, and ready to forgive faults of Inadvertency and Negligence, yet such Favour and Pardon would be dangerous for a Commonwealth to grant; because no Man ever began the Disturbance of his Country's Peace, by a notorious breach of its Laws, but They by degrees grew negligent in things of greatest concern, who gave themselves Liberty in Matters of lesser moment. Nor was he less severe, in requiring and observing the Ancient *Roman* Discipline in Military Affairs;

(1) This is the common Fault of Mankind. Dignities in the State, and even in Religion itself, are coveted for no other Reason but for the sake of Power and Precedency. Nothing was more absolute than the Power and Authority of these Augurs. They had the Privilege of dismissing Assemblies, tho' summon'd by order of the chief Magistrates, and to annul whatever had been transacted in them. An Augur need

only pronounce *Another Day*, and All was at a Stop. They cou'd oblige the Consuls to quit their Office; and had a right to confer with the People, to grant or refuse whatever they pleased, and abrogate the Laws that had been enacted. In short, nothing done by the Magistrates, either within the Walls, or without, cou'd be ratified without their Authority. *Cic. 2. Lib. de Legibus.*

not endeavouring, when he had the Command, to ingratiate himself with his Soldiers by Popular Flattery; though this Custom prevail'd at that time amongst Many, who by their Courtship, and Affability to Those that were under them in their first Employment, sought to be promoted to a Second; but *Emilius* by instructing them in the Laws of Military Discipline, with the same Care and Exactness a Priest would teach his Ceremonies and dreadful Mysteries, by being severe to Such as transgress'd and contemn'd those Laws, he re-establish'd his Country in its former Glory; esteeming Victory as the necessary Consequence of good Discipline.

Whilst the *Romans* were engag'd in War with (1) *Antiochus* the Great, against whom (2) their most experienc'd Commanders were employed, there arose another War in the West, and They were all up in Arms in (3) *Spain*. Thither They sent *Emilius*, in the Quality of *Prætor*, not with six Axes, which number other *Prætors* were accustomed to have carried before them, but with twelve, so that in his *Prætorship* he was honour'd with the Dignity of a *Consul*. Twice he overcame the *Barbarians* in Battel, of whom 30000 were slain; which Victory is chiefly to be ascribed to the Wisdom and Conduct of the Commander, who by his great Skill in chusing the Advantage of the Ground, and making the Onset at the Passage of a River, led his Soldiers to an easy Conquest. Having made himself Master of 250 Cities, whose Inhabitants voluntarily yielded, and obliged themselves

(1) This War with *Antiochus* the Great, King of *Syria*, begun about the Year of *Rome* 561, Twenty four Years after the Battel of *Canma*.
der of which wou'd needs Serve as Lieutenant under his Brother. The Reader may find an Account of this War in the 37th Book of *Livy*.

(2) The *Consul Glabrio*, and after Him the two *Scipios*, the El-
(3) *Spain* had been reduced by *Scipio Nasica*.

by Oath to Faithfulness; he left the Province in Peace, and return'd to *Rome*, not enriching himself a Drachma by the War. The truth is, he never gave himself the trouble of heaping up Riches, but always liv'd splendidly and generously on the present Stock, which was so far from being great, (as was evident after his death) that there was scarce enough left to answer his Wife's Dowry.

His first Wife was *Papyria*, the Daughter of *Masso*, who had formerly been *Consul*, with whom he liv'd a long while in Wedlock, and afterwards divorc'd her, though she bare him a beautiful and illustrious Off-spring, for she was Mother to the so renowned *Scipio*, and *Fabius Maximus*. The reason of this Separation is not come to our Knowledge; but there seems to be truth in another *Roman's* being divorc'd from his Wife, which may be applicable to our purpose. This Person being highly blam'd for it by his Friends, who demanded, *Was she not Chaste? Was she not Fair? Was she not Fruitful?* When He putting forth his Shoe, ask'd them, *Whether it was not new, and well made? Yet,* added he, *none of you can tell where it wrings me.* Certain it is, that great and open Faults are the usual occasions of Mens putting away their Wives, yet do little Jarrings and private Distastes, which arise from the disagreeableness of their Tempers, and peevishness of Dispositions, though they may be conceal'd from Others, often make so great an Estrangement and Alteration in Affections, that it is not possible for them to live together, with any content.

Emilius having thus put away *Papyria*, married a second Wife, by whom he had two Sons, which he brought up in his own House, adopting the two former into the greatest and most noble Families of *Rome*. The elder was adopted into That of
Fabius

(1) *Fabius Maximus*, who had been five times Consul; and the younger into That of (2) *Scipio Africanus*, his Cousin-german, and was by Him named *Scipio*. One of *Emilius* his Daughters was married to the Son of *Cato* the Censor, the Other to *Elius Tubero*, the very best of Men, and who above All the *Romans* knew how to support even his Poverty with Magnificence. For there were sixteen near Relations (3) all of them of the Family of the *Elii*, who were possess'd of but one Farm, which suffic'd them All, whilst a small House or rather Cottage contain'd Them, their numerous Off-spring, and their Wives; amongst whom was the Daughter of our *Emilius*; who, although her Father had been twice Consul, and twice triumph'd, was (4) so far from being asham'd of her Husband's Poverty, that she admired his Virtue, that had reduc'd him to that Condition. Far otherwise it is with the Brothers and Relations of this Age, who if different Countries, or at least Walls and Rivers, part not their Inheritances, they live at Variance, and never cease from mutual Quarrels. These are

(1) There is a very material Error in the Text, *απὸ Μαξίμου Φαβίου. ἀπὸ* shou'd be *ὑδὸς*, as *Xiander* has corrected it. *Plutarch* follows here the Opinion of Those who alledge that *Emilius* his eldest Son was adopted by the Son of *Fabius Maximus*, surnam'd *Cunctator*, tho' Others say it was by his Grandson. He was call'd *Quintus Fabius Emilianus*, and had a Son named *Quintus Fabius*, who proved an excellent Orator.

(2) He was adopted by the Son of *Scipio Africanus*, and was called *Scipio Emilianus*. *Scipio's* Wife was call'd *Emilia*.

(3) *Valerius Maximus* speaks of them in the following manner. *Sexdecim eodem tempore Elii fuerunt*, quibus una domuncula fuerat

eodem loco, quo nunc sunt Mariana Monumenta, & unus in agro Volente fundus, minus multos Cultores desiderans quam dominos habebat. There were at the same time Sixteen of the Elii, who had among them All but a little Tenement, which stood in the Place where at present Marius his Monuments are erected, and a small Farm lying in the Territories of Veii, which had more Mouths to feed than it required Hands to manure it.

(4) A rare Virtue in a Woman, and in a Woman of her Birth. And yet a noble Birth ought to inspire the Mind with noble Sentiments.

useful Instructions, which History suggests to Such as read with Attention, and endeavour to Profit by Reading.

But to proceed: *Emilius* being chosen Consul, waged War with the *Ligurians*, or *Ligustines*, a People dwelling near the *Alpes*. They were a valiant and warlike Nation, and from their Neighbourhood to the *Romans*, well skill'd in the same Discipline and Arts of War. For they possess'd the utmost Bounds of *Italy*, which border upon the *Alpes*, and that part of the same Mountain which is wash'd by the *Tuscan* Sea, and were mingled with the *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, who inhabited the Coast. Besides, at that time they were strong at Sea, and sailing as far as the *Streights-mouth*, in light Vessels fitted for that purpose, robb'd and destroy'd All that traffick'd in those parts. These waited the coming of *Emilius* with an Army of 40000, who brought with him not above eight, so that the Enemy was five to one when they engag'd, (1) yet did he vanquish and put them to flight, forcing them to retire into their wall'd Towns, and in this Condition give them hopes of an Accommodation; it being the Policy of the *Romans* not utterly to destroy the *Ligurians*, whilst they were as a Guard and Bulwark against the *Gauls*, who made such frequent attempts to over-run *Italy*. Trusting wholly therefore to *Emilius*, they deliver'd up their Towns and Shipping into his hands. He raz'd only the Fortifications, and deliver'd their Towns to them again; but all their Shipping he took away with him, leaving them no Vessels bigger than those of three Oars,

(1) *Plutarch* has not given us a Description of this Action, at which I wonder, for it was full of Bravery. *Emilius* was besieged in his Camp by the *Ligurians*, and being much press'd had sent for Assistance, in despair of which he freed himself by beating the Enemy. The Conduct of this General is applauded as it deserves by *Livy*, Lib. 40. Cap. 25, &c.

and set at Liberty great numbers of Prisoners they had taken both by Sea and Land, Strangers as well as *Romans*. These were the things most worthy of remark, in his first *Consulship*.

Afterwards he frequently declar'd his Desire of being a second time *Consul*, and was once Candidate; but meeting with a Repulse, he mov'd no more in it, but was wholly intent upon his Office of *Augur*, and the Education of his Children, whom he not only brought up as he himself had been in the *Roman* Discipline, but also in That of *Greece*, which was esteem'd more genteel and honourable. To this purpose he not only entertain'd Masters to teach them *Grammar*, *Logick*, and *Rhetorick*, but *Sculpture* also, and *Painting*, together with Such as were skilful in breeding Horses and Dogs, and could instruct them in Hunting and Riding. And if he was not hindred by Publick Affairs, He himself would be with them at their Studies, and see them perform their Exercises, being the most indulgent of Fathers amongst the *Romans*.

As to matters relating to the Commonwealth, at that time the *Romans* were engag'd in a War with (1) *Perseus*, King of the *Macedonians*, and highly blam'd their (2) Commanders, who either through want of Skill or Courage, so ill and shamefully manag'd the Concerns of the Commonwealth, that they did less hurt to the Enemy than they receiv'd from him: For They that not long before had forc'd *Antiochus* the Great to quit the rest of *Asia*, and driving him beyond Mount *Taurus*, confin'd him to *Syria*, glad to buy his Peace with 15000 Talents: They that not long since had vanquish'd

(1) This second *Macedonian* War with *Perseus* began in the Year of *Rome* 582, 169 Years before the Birth of our Saviour.

(2) Those Generals were *P. Licinius Crassus*, after Him *A. Hostilius Mancinus*, and at last *Q. Martius Philippus*, who spun out the War during the three Years of their

(1) King

(1) King *Philip*, in *Thessaly*, and freed the *Greeks* from the *Macedonian* Yoke, nay, had overcome *Hannibal* himself, who far surpass'd all Kings in Bravery and Courage, thought it scorn that *Perseus* should think himself an Enemy fit to match the *Romans*, and to be able to wage War with them on equal terms, with the Remainder only of his Father's routed Forces; but they little weigh'd, that the *Macedonian* Army was become much more powerful and expert after the overthrow of *Philip*. To make which appear, I shall briefly recount the Story from the beginning.

(2) *Antigonus*, who was the most potent amongst the Captains and Successors of *Alexander*, having obtain'd for himself and his Posterity the Title of King, had a Son nam'd *Demetrius*, Father to *Antigonus*, call'd *Gonatus*, and He, to *Demetrius*, who reigning some short time, died, and left a young Son call'd *Philip*. The Nobility of *Macedon* fearing great Confusions might arise in the Minority of their Prince, trusted the Government in the hands of *Antigonus*, Cousin-german to the late King, and married him to his Widow, the Mother of *Philip*. At first they only styled him Regent and General; but when they found by Experience, that he govern'd the Kingdom with Moderation, and to their Advantage, they gave him the Title of King. This was he that was surnam'd *Doson*, because he was on-

(1) This Service was perform'd by *Quinctius Flamininus*, who defeated *Philip* in *Thessaly*, kill'd Eight thousand of his Men upon the Spot; took five thousand Prisoners, and after his Victory caus'd Proclamation to be made by an Herald at the *Isthmian* Games that all the *Greeks* were free.

(2) He was the Son of a *Macedonian*, call'd *Philip*, who was of the Race of the *Temenides*. He

left two Sons, this *Antigonus*, and Another call'd *Demetrius*. *Antigonus* had a Command in the Army under *Philip* and *Alexander*. He kill'd *Eumenes*, took *Babylon* from *Seleucus*, and when his Son *Demetrius* had overthrown *Ptolemy's* Fleet at *Cyprus*, He, the first of all *Alexander's* Successors, presum'd to wear a Crown, and assum'd the Title of King.

ly a Promiser, not a Performer of his Words. To Him succeeded *Philip*, who in his Youth gave great hopes of equalling the best of Kings, and that He one day would restore *Macedon* to its former state and dignity, and be alone able to give a stop to the Power of the *Romans*, which was now become a general Oppression to the World. But being vanquish'd in a pitch'd Battel by *Titus Flaminius*, near to *Scotusa*, his Resolution was dash'd, and he yielded Himself and All that he had to the mercy of the *Romans*, being glad to get off upon Payment of a moderate Tribute. Yet afterwards recollecting himself, he bore it with great regret, and thought he liv'd rather like a Slave that was pleas'd with Ease, than a Man of Sense and Courage, whilst he held his Kingdom at the pleasure of his Conquerors; which made him resolve upon a War, and prepare himself with as much Cunning and Privacy as possible. To this end, he left his Cities on the High-roads and Sea-coast ungarrison'd and almost desolate, that they might seem inconsiderable; in the mean time furnishing his mid-land Castles, strong Holds and Towns, with Arms, Money, and Men fit for Service, he provided himself for War, and yet kept his Preparations close. He had in his Armory Arms for 30000 Men; in his Granaries, eight millions of Bushels of Corn, and in his Coffers as much ready Money as would defray the Charge of maintaining 10000 mercenary Soldiers, to defend his Country, for ten Years. But before he could put these things into motion, and bring his designs to effect, he died for grief and anguish of Mind, being sensible he had put his innocent Son *Demetrius* to death, upon the Calumnies of one that was far more guilty. *Perseus*, his Son that surviv'd, inherited his Hatred to the *Romans* as well as his Kingdom, but was very unfit to carry on his Designs, through his want of Courage, and the viciousness of his Manners, especially

especially when amongst the Vices and Diseases of his Mind of all sorts, Covetousness bore the chief sway. There is a report also of his not being legitimate, but that the Wife of King *Philip* took him from his Mother *Grathania*, (a Woman of *Argos*, that earn'd her living by Botching) as soon as he was born, and brought him up privately as her Own. And this might be the chief cause of his contriving the Death of *Demetrius*; for he might well fear, that whilst there was a lawful Successor in the Family, his being illegitimate would not lie conceal'd.

Notwithstanding all this, and tho' his Spirit was so mean, and Temper so sordid, yet trusting to the strength of his Preparations, he engag'd in a War with the *Romans*, and for a long time maintain'd it. Some of their Captains, and those of Consular Dignity, and great Armies and Fleets, he repulsed, and some of them he vanquish'd: For he overcame (1) *Publius Licinius*, who was the first that invaded *Macedonia*, in an Engagement of the Cavalry; in which he slew 2500 of his bravest Soldiers, and took 600 Prisoners; and surprising their Fleet as they rode at Anchor before *Oreum*, he took twenty Ships of Burden, with all their Lading, and sunk the rest that were freighted with Corn. Besides this, he made himself Master of four Galleys, with five Oars in a Seat; and fought another Battel with

(1) *Livy* has given us a Description of this Action, at the End of his 42d Book. *Perseus* offer'd Peace to Those he had conquer'd upon as easy Conditions as if He himself had been overthrown, but the *Romans* refus'd it. *Romana constantia vitit in Concilio*, saith *Livy*, ita tunc mos erat in adversis vultum secunda Fortuna gerere, moderari animos in secundis. The Roman Constancy prevail'd in the Council,

it was then the Custom to wear the Face of Prosperity in Adversity, and to be moderate in Prosperity. *Polybius*, who mentions the same thing, highly commends this Custom; but he adds, with a great deal of Judgment, εἰ δὲ καὶ σωατοῦ ἐν ἐνίοις καί ποτὶς ἐκέρως ἐν τῇ ἐπαπορήσει. It is much to be doubted whether this Custom is practicable on all Occasions.

Hostilius the Consul, who making an Inroad into his Country by the way of *Elimia*, he forc'd him to retreat; and when he afterwards stole a March, and was moving secretly through *Theffaly*, he urg'd him to fight, but the Other wou'd not stand the hazard. Nay more, to shew his Contempt of the *Romans*, and that he wanted employment, as a War by the bye, he made an Expedition against the *Dardani-ans*, in which he slew 10000 of those barbarous People, and brought a very great Spoil away with him. He privately also solicited the *Gauls*, (they are also call'd *Basterne*) a warlike Nation, and famous for Horsemen, dwelling near the *Danube*; and practis'd with the *Illyrians*, by the means of *Gentius* their King, to join with him in this War. (1) It was also reported, that the *Barbarians* being allur'd by him through the promise of Rewards, were to make an Irruption into *Italy*, through the lower parts of *Gallia Cisalpina*, near the *Adriatick* Sea.

The *Romans* being advertis'd of these things, thought it necessary no longer to chuse their Commanders for favour or solicitation, but to pitch upon One for their General, that was a Man of Wisdom, and vers'd in the Management of great Affairs. And such was *Paulus Emilius*, one well stricken in years, as being near threescore, yet vigorous in his own Person, and surrounded with his valiant Sons and Sons-in-Law, besides a great number of very considerable Relations and Friends, who all of them perswaded him to yield to the Desires of the People, who call'd him to the *Consulship*. At first he gave no Ear to their Solicitations, but as one averse to govern, refus'd both the Honour and Care that attended it; yet when he saw them flock-

(1) That Report prov'd very true. *Polybius*, a Contemporary Author, tells us what pass'd in the Embassy *Perseus* sent to *Gentius*, who demanded three hundred Talents of the *Macedonians*.

ing daily to his Gate, urging him to come forth to the place of Election, and prosecuted him with Noise and Clamour, he at last granted their Request. When he appear'd amongst such as were Candidates, he did not look like One suing for the *Consulship*, but as One certain of Victory and Success; and as soon as he yielded to come down into the Field, they all receiv'd him with so great hopes and chearfulness of Mind, that they unanimously chose him a second time *Consul*; nor would they suffer the Lots to be cast as was usual, to determine which Province should fall to his Share, but immediately decreed him the command of the *Macedonian War*. It is reported, that the very day wherein he was design'd General in that Expedition, and was honourably accompanied home by great numbers of People, he found his Daughter *Tertia*, a very little Girl, all in Tears; whereupon he took her in his Arms, and with a fatherly Tenderness ask'd her, *for what it was she cryed?* when She catching him about the Neck, and kissing him, said, *O Father, know you not that our Perseus is dead?* meaning a little Dog of that Name that was a sort of Favourite with her. To which *Emilius* replied, *Good Fortune, my Daughter, I embrace the Omen.* This *Cicero* the Orator relates in his Book of Divination.

It was the Custom for Such as were chosen *Consuls*, from a Pulpit design'd for such Purposes, kindly to bespeak the People, and return them thanks for their Favour; *Emilius* therefore having summon'd an Assembly, spake as follows: (1) *That he sued for the first Consulship, because he himself stood*
in

(1) This Discourse does not entirely agree with That *Emilius* makes in the 45th Book of *Livy*, Cap. 22. but it is a sort of Imitation of it, and it ought to be read for the better understanding of This in *Plutarch*. The ill Success of the Consuls for the three preceding

The LIFE of

in need of such Honour; but for the Second, because he knew they wanted such a General; upon which account he thought there was no thanks due from Him to Them: If they judg'd they could manage the War by any Other to more advantage, he would willingly yield up his Charge; but if they confided in Him, they were not to make themselves his Colleagues in Office, or raise reports, and censure his Actions; but without reply, and to their utmost, to obey such Commands as were necessary to the carrying on of the War: for if they endeavour'd to govern Him who was to command, they would render this Expedition more ridiculous than the former. By this Speech he imprinted a Reverence for him amongst the Citizens, and great Expectations of future Success; being all of them well pleas'd, that they had pass'd by Such as sought to be prefer'd by Flattery, and pitch'd upon a Commander endu'd with Wisdom, and who had the Courage to tell them the Truth. Thus the People of Rome were Servants, and obedient to Reason and Virtue, that they might one day Rule, and make themselves Masters of the World.

Now that *Emilius*, setting forward to the War by a prosperous Voyage and successful Journey, arriv'd with Speed and Safety at his Camp, I attribute to good Fortune; but when I consider the Concerns of the War, and his Government, manag'd partly by his own daring Boldness, partly by his good Counsel, partly by the ready Ad-

ding Years had so irritated the Minds of the People that every one took the Liberty of blaming their Conduct, and determining what ought, and what ought not to be done. *Emilius* therefore before he left Rome was for checking that Licentiousness, upon which Occasion he deliver'd himself in the following remarkable Words, which ought to be imprinted in

the Minds of all Princes and Commanders of Armies. *Non sum is, qui non existimem admonendos Duces esse, imo eum qui de sua unius sententia omnia gerat. superbum judico magis quam sapientem. I am so far from thinking it beneath a General to receive Advice, that I look on Him that acts purely upon his own Head to have in him more of Pride than Discretion.*

ministration

ministration of his Friends, partly by his great Presence of Mind, and Skill to embrace the most proper advice in the extremity of Danger, I cannot ascribe any of his remarkable and famous Actions (as I can Those of other Commanders) to his so-much-celebrated good Fortune; unless you will say that the Covetousness of *Perseus* was the good Fortune of *Emilius*. The truth is, the fear of spending his Money, was the Destruction and utter Ruin of all those splendid and great Preparations, by whose help the *Macedonians* were in hopes to carry on the War with Success: For he had prevail'd with the *Bastarnæ* to send to his Assistance a Body of ten (1) thousand Horse, who had each, according to the Custom of the Country, a Foot Soldier to fight by his Side, who was to keep Pace with him, and supply his Place in case of failure, all of them mercenary Soldiers, a People neither skill'd in Tilling of Land, or Merchandize, or able to get their Living by Grasing, but whose only business and perpetual study it was to fight and conquer. When These came near *Medica*, and were encamp'd and mix'd with the King's Soldiers, being Men of great Stature, admirable at their Exercises, great Boasters, and loud in their Threats against their Enemies, they added Courage to the *Macedonians*, who fancied the *Romans* would not be able to abide their coming, but wou'd be frighten'd at their very Looks and Motions, so strange and terrible were they to behold. When *Perseus* had thus encouraged his Men, and puff'd them up

(1) *Livy* has very well describ'd this Horseman, and his Foot Soldier. *Veniebant, scilicet he, decem millia equitum, par numerus peditum & ipsorum iungentium cursum equis, & in vicem prolapsorum equitum vacuos capientium ad pugnam equos.* There came ten thousand Horsemen and as many Foot,

who kept Pace with the Horse, and when any of the Cavalry were unhors'd, they mounted, and went into the Ranks. They are the same with Those describ'd by *Cæsar* in the first Book of his Commentaries, where he is giving an Account of *Ariovistus* his Army.

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with so great Hopes, as soon as a Thousand Crowns were demanded for each Captain, according to Agreement, he was so astonish'd and besides himself at the vastness of the Sum, that his Covetousness made him send them back, and refuse their Assistance, as if he had been the Steward, not the Enemy of the *Romans*, and was to give an exact account of the Expences of the War, to Those with whom he waged it: Nay, when his very Enemies were his Tutors, to instruct him what he had to do. For besides their other Preparations, they had a hundred Thousand Men drawn together, and in a readiness, when occasion should require their Service; yet He that was to engage against so considerable Force, and in such a War, whose necessary expences must needs be very great, weigh'd and seal'd up his Money, as if he fear'd or had no right to touch it. And all this was done by one, not descended from the *Lydians* or *Phœnicians*, but who challeng'd to himself the Virtues of *Alexander* and *Philip*, from his Alliance to them; Men who conquered the World by judging, That *Empire was to be purchased by Money, not Money by Empire*; whence it grew a Proverb, *That not Philip but his Gold took the Cities of Greece*. And *Alexander* when he undertook an Expedition against the *Indians*, and found his *Macedonians* incumbred, and to march heavily with their *Persian* Spoils, he first set fire to his own Carriages, and thence persuaded the rest to imitate his Example; that thus freed, they might proceed to the War without hindrance. Whereas *Perseus*, abounding in Wealth, would not preserve himself, his Children, and his Kingdom, at the expence of a small part of his Treasure; but chose rather to be carried away Captive, and shew the *Romans* what a provident Husband he had been for them. For he not only broke his Word with the *Gauls*, and dismiss them, but after he had concluded a Treaty with *Gentius* King
of

of *Illyria*, who was to send him a Reinforcement of Troops upon the Payment of three hundred Talents, he depriv'd himself of that Assistance also, by his Avarice and Perfidy. (1) He immediately remitted ten of those Talents to *Illyria*, where they were pay'd to *Gentius*, and the remaining Sum was counted out to his Ambassadors at *Pella*; but as the Money was to be convey'd from thence in Waggon, *Perseus* gave private Directions to Those who had the Charge of the Convoy to make short Stages, and wait for his farther Orders upon the Frontiers. In the mean time his Ambassador residing with *Gentius*, press'd him to break with the Romans, and declare himself by some open Act of Hostility. *Gentius*, who had already receiv'd ten Talents as an Earnest, and was assur'd that the whole Sum was upon the Road, suffer'd himself to be prevail'd upon, and in Violation of all Laws Divine and Human, clap'd into Prison the two Ambassadors that had been sent from *Rome* to treat of an Alliance with him. *Perseus*, inform'd of what *Gentius* had done, concluded that there was now no farther need of Money, to make him an Enemy to the Romans, but that he had given a lasting Earnest of his Enmity, and sufficiently involved himself in the War, whereupon he defrauded the unfortunate King of his three hundred Talents, and without any Concern beheld Him, his Wife and Children, in a short time after, dragg'd out of their Kingdom, as from their Nest, (2) by *Lucius*

(1) This Piece of History is hardly intelligible as it stands here in *Plutarch*, either for that he did not think fit to give his Readers a clearer Information, or because something is wanting in the Text. It was thought fit to supply this Defect out of *Livy* and *Polybius*.

for sure the Laws of Translation are not so severe as to oblige the Translator to leave any Passage in his Author imperfect, and force him to keep his Reader ignorant of what at the same time he undertakes to inform him.

(2) *Livy* gives us an Account of this

cus Anicius, who was sent against him with an Army.

Emilius coming against such an Adversary, made light of his Person, but admired his Preparations and Force: For he had four thousand Horse, and not much fewer than forty thousand *Macedonian* Foot, and planting himself along the Sea-side, at the foot of Mount *Olympus*, in a place impossible to be approach'd, and on all sides fortified with Fences and Bulwarks of Wood, he remain'd there in great security, thinking by Delay and Charge to weary out *Emilius*. But He, in the mean time, wholly intent on his Business, weigh'd all Counsels, and all ways of Attack, and perceiving his Soldiers, from their former want of Discipline, to be impatient of delay, and ready on all turns to teach their General his Duty, angrily reprov'd them, and commanded that they should not intermeddle with what was not their Concern, but only take care that They and their Arms were in a readiness, and to use their Swords like *Romans*, when their Commander should think fit to employ them. Further, (1) he order'd that the Sentinels by Night should watch without their Arms, that thus they might be more careful and able to resist

this War in his 44th Book, Cap. 30, 31. *Anicius* brought Prisoners to Rome, *Gentius*, his Wife *Esleua*, his two Sons *Scardiles* and *Pluratus*, his Brother *Cavantes*, together with the Principal of the *Illyrians*. This Expedition was perform'd in thirty Days, and the News of the Event was brought to Rome before they knew any thing there of the Undertaking.

(1) *Plutarch* saith, without their Pike or *Favelin*, and *Livy* without their Buckler, and gives Us a Reason for this Order; which is, that when they held their Buckler right

before them, resting upon their Pike, and reclin'd their Heads upon the Buckler, they might sleep standing. The Word *Arms* has been made use of in the Translation as a Term more general and comprehensive. *Livy* has added one Particular which *Plutarch* ought not to have forgotten. It is, that on this Occasion *Emilius* introduced the Custom of relieving the Guard; 'till then they were upon Duty all day. *Emilius* order'd that They who came on in the Morning should be reliev'd at Noon.

Sleep,

Sleep, having nothing proper to withstand the Assaults of their Enemies.

That which most infested the Army, was the want of Water, (for only a little, and that foul, flow'd out, or rather came by drops from a Spring near the Sea;) but *Emilius* considering that he was at the foot of the high and woody Mountain *Olympus*, and conjecturing by the flourishing of the Trees, that there were *Springs* that had their course under ground, dug a great many Holes and Wells in the side of the Mountain, which were presently fill'd with pure Water, which following its natural Bent, and as it were animated by the late Openings which set it in Motion, burst out with the more Force to set itself at Liberty, as it had 'till then been under Pressure and Confinement. Although Some deny that there are any Sources of Water, ready provided and concealed in places from whence they flow, which by their course are discover'd and break forth; but affirm, that they owe their Being and Consistence to the Matter that then grows liquid: Now this change is made by Density and Cold, when the moist Vapour by being closely press'd together, becomes fluid. As Womens Breasts are not like Vessels full of Milk always prepar'd and ready to flow from them; but their Nourishment being chang'd in their Breasts, is there made Milk, and from thence strain'd. In like manner the Places of the Earth that are cold and stor'd with Fountains, do not contain any hidden *Waters* or *Receptacles* which are capable, as from a Source always ready and furnish'd, to supply so many Brooks, and the Depths of so great Rivers; but pressing by, crowding together, and condensing the Vapours and Air, they turn them into that substance. Whence those places that are open'd, by that means do flow and afford more plenty of Water, (as the Breasts of Women do Milk by their being suck'd)

by moistning the Vapour, and rendring it fluid; whereas the Earth that remains idle and undug, is not capable of producing any Water, whilst it wants that motion which is the true cause of it. But Those that assert this Opinion, give occasion to the Doubtful to argue, That on the same ground there should be no Blood in living Creatures, but that it must be form'd by the Wound, some sort of Spirit or Flesh being chang'd into a Matter that is liquid and proper to flow. Moreover, These are refuted by Such, who digging deep in the Earth to undermine some strong-Hold, or search for Metals, meet with Rivers, which are not collected by little and little, (which must necessarily be, if they had their Beings at the very Instant the Earth was open'd) but brake out at once with Violence; and upon the cutting through a Rock, there often gushes out great quantities of Water, and then as suddenly ceaseth. But of this enough.

Emilius lay still for some Days, and it is said, that there were never two great Armies so nigh, that enjoy'd so much quiet. When he had tried and considered all things, (1) and was informed that there was yet one Passage left unguarded through *Perrhebia*, by the Temple of *Apollo*, and the great *Peak*, he hoped more from the Condition of the Place, which was left defenceless, than he feared from the roughness and difficulty of the Passage, and order'd the Matter to be consider'd in Council. Amongst those that were present at the Council, *Scipio*, surnamed *Nasica*, Son-in-Law to *Scipio Africanus*, who afterwards bore such great sway in the Senate-house, stood up first, and offer'd to command Those that

(1) He receiv'd this Intelligence from two Merchants of *Perrhebia*, in whose Wisdom and Integrity he had plac'd great Confidence, *Liv. lib. 44. Cap. 35.* But

whereas it is said here, that the Pass was not guarded, *Livy* tells us the quite contrary; He saith the Pass was easy enough, but that a Guard was station'd in it.

should be sent to encompass the Enemy. *Fabius Maximus*, eldest Son of *Emilius*, although yet very young, disputed that Honour with *Nasica*. *Emilius* rejoicing at this noble Emulation in his Son, appointed not so many as *Polybius* relates, but as many as *Nasica* himself tells us he took, in that short Epistle he writ to a certain King concerning this Expedition. For he had three Thousand *Italians* that were not *Romans*, and his left Wing consisted of five Thousand; to These *Scipio* joined one hundred and twenty Horsemen, and two Hundred *Thracians* and *Cretans* intermix'd, that had been sent by *Harpalus*. With this Detachment he began his March towards the Sea, and encamp'd near the Temple of *Hercules*, (1) as if he design'd to embark, and so to sail round and environ the Enemy. But when the Soldiers had supp'd, and that it was dark, he made the Captains acquainted with his real Intentions, and marching all night a quite contrary way to that of the Sea, 'till he came under the Temple of *Apollo Pythius*, he there rested his Army. In this Place Mount *Olympus* stretches itself in height more than ten furlongs, as appears by this Epigram made by Him that measur'd it.

*Thy Top, Olympus, measur'd from the Place
The Pythian Temple does so nobly grace,
Ten compleat Furlongs does in height exceed.
—Xenagoras this did leave upon Record,
He travell'd here, here be that God ador'd.*

(1) *Plutarch* ought not to have omitted in this Place that *Emilius* had order'd *Octavius* the Prætor to sail with a Fleet to *Heraclea*, on purpose to make *Perseus* believe his Design was to ravage the Maritime Coasts, thereby to oblige him to Decamp; for otherwise

how cou'd *Scipio* pretend to Embark? *Livy* wou'd not omit this Circumstance, which gives a Probability to the whole. *Prætorum Octavium arcessum, exposito quid pararet, Heracleam cum Classe petere jubet, & mille Hominihus decem dierum cœta cibaria habere.*

'Tis confes'd, *Geometricians* affirm, that no Mountain in height, or Sea in depth, exceeds ten Furlongs; yet it seems probable that *Xenagoras* took not his Measures at all Adventures, but according to the Rules of Art, and with Instruments fit for that purpose. Here it was that *Nasica* pass'd the Night.

A traiterous *Cretan* who fled to the Enemy in the March, discovered to *Perseus* the Design which the *Romans* had to encompass him: Who seeing *Emilius* lay still, mistrusted no such Attempt. He was startled at the News, yet removed not his Camp, but sent two Thousand mercenary Soldiers, and two Thousand *Macedonians*, under the Command of *Milo*, with order to hasten with all Diligence, and possess themselves of the Straights. *Polybius* relates, that the *Romans* set upon them whilst they slept; but *Nasica*, that there was a sharp and dangerous Conflict on the top of the Mountain; that He himself encounter'd a mercenary *Thracian*, pierc'd him through with his Dart, and slew him; and that the Enemy being forc'd to retreat, and *Milo* stript to his Coat shamefully flying without his Armour, he followed without danger, and all the Army march'd down into the Country.

Perseus, quite dispirited at this Overthrow, and fallen from all his Hopes, remov'd his Camp in haste, and retired full of Fear and Apprehension. However it was necessary for him either to stop before *Pydne*, and there run the hazard of a Batel, or disperse his Army into Cities, and there expect the event of the War, which being once enter'd into his Country, could not be driven out without great Slaughter, and Bloodshed. But whilst he was fluctuating under this Uncertainty, he was told by his Friends that he was much superior

perior in number, and that his Troops, who were to fight in defence of their Wives and Children, must needs be endued with great Courage, especially when all things were to be done in sight of their King, who himself was engaged in equal Danger. This Representation gave him new Courage, so that pitching his Camp, he prepared to fight, view'd the Country, and gave his Commands, as if he design'd to set upon the *Romans* as soon as they approached. The Place where he encamped was a Field, both proper to draw up a Phalanx, which requir'd a plain Valley and even Ground, and also had divers little Hills one join'd to another, which serv'd for a Retreat to Such as were lightly arm'd and fitted to skirmish, and gave them all Opportunities to incompass the Enemy; through the middle run the Rivers *Eson* and *Leucus*, which though not very deep, it being the latter end of Summer, yet were they likely enough to give the *Romans* some trouble.

As soon as *Emilius* was joyned to *Nasica*, he advanced in Battel array against the Enemy; but when he found how they were drawn up, and the number of their Forces, he stood still as one amazed, considering with himself what was proper to be done. But the young Officers being eager to fight press'd him earnestly not to delay, (1) and most of all *Nasica*, flush'd with his late Success on *Olympus*. To whom *Emilius* answered with a Smile: *So would I do were I of your Age, but my many Victories have taught me the Miscarriages of the Conquer'd, and forbid me to engage such as are*

(1) It is well worth the while to read *Nasica's* Speech to *Emilius*, and the Answer *Emilius* made at that Instant, and the next day containing his reasons for not engaging at that time. Nothing can be more beautiful or fitter for the forming a Commander. Liv. lib. 44. c. 36, 37, 38.

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wearied with their long March, against an Army so well drawn up and prepar'd for Battel.

Then he gave Command, that the Front of his Army, and such as were in sight of the Enemy, should imbattel themselves, as ready to engage, and (1) Those in the Rear should cast up the Trenches, and fortifie the Camp; so that the foremost of his Men still wheeling off by degrees, their whole Order was chang'd, the Battel insensibly withdrawn, and all his Army incamped without noise.

When it was Night, and no Man after his Supper thought of any thing but Sleep and Rest, all on a sudden the Moon, which was then at full, and very high, grew dark, and by degrees losing her Light, cast divers sorts of Colours, 'till at length she was totally eclipsed. The Romans, according to their Custom, with the noise of Brass Pans, and lifting up a great many Firebrands and Torches, endeavour'd to recover her Light: Whilst the Macedonians behav'd themselves far otherwise; for Horror and Amazement seiz'd their whole Army, and a Rumour crept by degrees into their Camp, that this Eclipse portended no less than that of their King. But (2) *Emilius*, who was no Novice in these things, but very well understood the seeming Irregularities of Eclipses, and that in a certain Revolution of Time, the Moon

(1) It is not improper to compare this Passage with That of *Livy*, lib. 44. 37. One serves as a Comment to the Other, tho' This in *Plutarch* is more clear, and intelligible. *Emilius* wou'd not venture a Battel, till he had a Camp well fortified behind him, for which he himself gives us the Reason, which is worth reading.

(2) *Livy* saith that this Eclipse was foretold by a Tribune of the Soldiers call'd *Caius Sulpitius Galvus* the Night before, and that upon the Accomplishment of his Prediction the Roman Soldiers thought him something more than Man. *Romanis militibus Galli sapientia prope divina videri.*

in her Course was obscur'd and hid by the Shadow of the Earth, till passing that Region of Darkness she became again enlightned by the Sun : Yet being very devout, a religious Observer of Sacrifices, and well skill'd in the Art of Divination, as soon as he perceiv'd the Moon regain'd her former Lustre, he offer'd up to her eleven Heifers : At the break of Day he sacrific'd to *Hercules*, and had offer'd up Twenty before he receiv'd any token that his Offering was accepted ; but at the one and twentieth the signs promis'd Victory to Such as fought only to defend themselves. Then he vow'd a Hecatomb and Solemn Sports to *Hercules*, and commanded his Captains to make ready for Battel, staying only till the Sun should decline, and come about to the West, lest being in their Faces in the Morning it should dazle the Eyes of his Soldiers ; so he whil'd away the time in his Tent, which was open towards the Valley where his Enemies were encamp'd. When it grew towards Evening, Some tell us *Emilius* himself laid the following Design, that the Enemy might first begin the Fight : He turn'd loose a Horse without a Bridle, and sent some of the *Romans* to catch him, upon whose following the Beast, the Battel begun. Others relate, that the *Thracians*, under the Command of one *Alexander*, set upon the *Roman* Carriages that brought Forage to the Camp : That to oppose these a Party of seven hundred *Ligurians* were immediately detach'd, and that Relief coming still from both Armies, the main Bodies were at last engag'd. *Emilius*, like a wise Pilot, foreseeing by the present Waves and Motion of the Armies, the greatness of the following Storm, came out of his Tent, went through the Legions, and encouraged his Soldiers. *Nasica* in the mean time, who was advanc'd to the Place where the Skirmish began, saw the whole force of the Enemy preparing to engage.

engage. First march'd the *Thracians*, who, he himself tells us, were very terrible to behold, for they were Men of great Stature, with bright and glistering Shields, their Cassocks were black, their Legs arm'd with Greaves; and as they mov'd, their weighty long Spears shook on their Shoulders. Next the *Thracians*, march'd the mercenary Soldiers, arm'd after the different Fashions of their Countries; and with these the *Pæonians* were mingled. These were follow'd by a third Body of *Macedonians*, all chosen Men, of known Courage, and all in the prime of their Age, who glitter'd in their gilt Armour, and new scarlet Coats. Behind these were the old Bands drawn out of the Camp, all arm'd with Brass Targets; the whole Plain shin'd with the brightness of their Arms, and the Mountains rang with their Noises and Shouts, by which they gave mutual Encouragement one to the other. In this order they march'd, and that with such Boldness and Speed, that Those that were first slain, died but at two Furlongs distance from the *Roman* Camp. The Battel being begun, *Emilius* came in, and found that the foremost of the *Macedonians* had already pitch'd the end of their Spears into the Shields of his *Romans*, so that it was impossible to come near them with their Swords. When he saw this, and that the rest of the *Macedonians* took the Shields that hung on their backs, and brought them before them, and all at once stoop'd their Pikes against their Enemies Bucklers, and well consider'd the great Strength of their united Targets, and dreadful Appearance of a Front so arm'd, he was seiz'd with Amazement and Fear, as not having seen any thing more terrible, nor would he stick afterwards to give a Relation of this Sight, and his own Dread. But This he dissembled, and rode through his Army without either Breast-plate

or

or Helmet, with a pleasant and chearful Countenance.

On the contrary, (as *Polybius* relates) no sooner was the Battel begun, but the *Macedonian* King basely withdrew to the City *Pydne*, under a pretence of Sacrificing to *Hercules*; a God that is not wont to regard the faint Offerings of Cowards, or grant such Requests as are unjust; it not being reasonable, that He that never shoots, should carry away the Prize; He triumph that sneaks from the Battel; He that takes no pains meet with success, or the wicked Man prosper. But to *Emilius* his Petition the God listned, for he pray'd for Victory with his Sword in his Hand, and was fighting at the same time that he implor'd the Divine Assistance.

But a certain Author call'd (1) *Posidonius*, who writ the History of *Perseus*, and tells us he liv'd at that Time, and was himself in this Battel, denies that he left the Field either through Fear or pretence of Sacrificing, but that the very Day before the Fight he receiv'd a Kick from a Horse on his Thigh; that though very much indispos'd, and dissuaded by all his Friends, he commanded one of his Pads to be brought, and enter'd the Field unarm'd; that amongst an infinite number of Darts that flew about on all sides, one of Iron lighted on him, and though not with the point, yet by a glance hit him with such Force on his left side, that it rent his Cloaths, and so bruis'd his Flesh, that the Scar remain'd a long time after.

(1) This cou'd not be *Posidonius* of *Apamia*, the Philosopher, and Historian, who wrote a Continuation of *Polybius* his History; for that *Posidonius* went to Rome during the Consulship of *Marcus*, an Hundred, and Eighteen Years after this Battel. It must

certainly be some counterfeit Writer, who ignorant in Chronology took upon him the Name of *Posidonius*. *Plutarch* gives us to know that he suspects him, when he says, *Posidonius*, who tells us he lived at that time.

This

This is what *Posidonius* says in defence of *Perseus*.

The Romans not being able to make a Breach in the Phalanx, one *Salus* a Commander of the *Pelignians* snatch'd the Ensign of his Company, and threw it amongst the Enemies; which as soon as the *Pelignians* perceiv'd, (for the *Italians* esteem it base and dishonourable to abandon their Standard) they rush'd with great Violence towards that Place, and the Conflict was very fierce, and the Slaughter terrible on both sides: For These endeavoured to cut their Spears asunder with their Swords, or to beat them back with their Shields, or put them by with their Hands; on the other side, the *Macedonians* held their Pikes in both Hands, and pierc'd those that came in their way and their Armour quite through, no Shield or Corslet being able to resist the force of their Spears. The *Pelignians* were thrown headlong to the Ground, who against all Reason, and more like Brutes than Men, had run upon unavoidable Dangers, and certain Death; And their first Ranks being slain, those that were behind were forc'd to give back; it cannot be said they fled, but that they retreated towards Mount *Olocrus*. When *Emilius* saw this, (as *Posidonius* relates) he rent his Cloaths, for some of his Men were ready to fly, the rest were not willing to engage with a Phalanx, into which they could hope for no Entrance, but seem'd altogether unconquerable, and as secure as if intrench'd, whilst guarded with such great numbers of Pikes, which on all sides threatned the Assailers. But at length as the Unevenness of the Ground, and the large Extent of the Enemies Front made it impossible for them to preserve that Hedge, or Rampart of Shields and Pikes every where intire and unbroken, *Emilius* perceiv'd a great many Interstices and Breaches in the

the *Macedonian* Phalanx ; as it usually happens in all great Armies, according to the different Efforts of the Combatants, whilst in one part they press forward with eagerness, and in Another are forc'd to give back. Wherefore taking Advantage of this Occasion, with all speed he divided his Men into small Companies, and gave them order to fall into the Intervals, and void places of the Enemies Body, and (1) to make their Attack not all together in any one Place, but to engage in separate Parties, and attack them in several Places at one and the same time. These Commands *Emilius* gave to his Captains, and They to their Soldiers; who had no sooner enter'd the Spaces, and separated their Enemies, but Some charg'd them in Flank, where they were naked and expos'd, Others fetching a Compass, set on them in the Rear, so that in a Moment this terrible Phalanx, whose whole Force consisted in its Union, and the Impression it made when closely join'd, and cemented as it were together, was dissolv'd, and broken. And when they came to fight Hand to Hand, the *Macedonians* smote in vain upon firm and long Targets with their little Swords, whilst their slight Shields were not able to sustain the weight and force of Those of the *Romans*, which pierc'd through all their Armour to their Bodies, so that Many of them were wounded, and all sorely distressed.

It was here the greatest Efforts were made on both sides, when *Marcus* the Son of *Cato*, and Son-in-law to *Emilius*, after having given many Proofs of a most undaunted Courage and Reso-

(1) *Livy* saith that This gain'd them the Battle. *In medio secunda Legio immissa dissipavit Phalangem; neque ulla evidentior causa Victorie quam quod multa passim prælia erant, qua fluctuantem turbaverunt primo, dein disjecerunt Phalangem.*

He explains afterwards the manner of it, and adds that if the *Romans* had persisted to attack the Phalanx in front, and in a Body, they wou'd have entangled themselves, and never been able to break it. 44, 41.

lution, unhappily lost his Sword, which dropt out of his Hand as he was fighting. As he was a Youth, who had acquir'd all the Advantages of a generous Education, as he was the Son of a renown'd Father, to whom he thought himself answerable for all his Actions, and was perswaded that he had better dye a thousand times than live under the Dishonour of suffering such a Spoil to remain in the Power of his Enemies, he flew through all the Ranks, and where-ever he met with a Friend, or Companion, he in few words acquainted him with his Misfortune, and implor'd his Assistance. In a Moment he found himself surrounded with a Troop of the most Hardy, and Determin'd, who follow'd their Leader, and fell with a desperate Bravery upon the *Macedonians*, whom after a sharp Conflict, many Wounds, and much Slaughter, they repuls'd, possess'd the Place that was now deserted and free, and set themselves to search for the Sword, which at last they found cover'd with a great heap of Arms and dead Carcasses. Overjoy'd with this Success, they sang Songs of Triumph, and with more eagerness than ever charg'd the Foes that yet remain'd firm and unbroke. In the end, three thousand of the chosen Men, who kept their Stations, and fought valiantly to the last, were all cut in pieces, and very great was the Slaughter of Such as fled, insomuch that the Plains and the Hills were fill'd with dead Bodies, and the Water of the River *Leucus*, which the *Romans* did not pass till the next day after the Battel, was then mingled with Blood; for it is said, there fell more than (1) twenty five thousand of the Enemy; of the *Romans*, as *Posidonius* relates, an hundred; as *Nasica*, only four-

(1) The *Romans* confess, saith *Livy*, that they never had slain so many of the *Macedonians* in any one Action before. They had

twenty thousand kill'd on the Spot, and eleven thousand Prisoners.

score. This Battel, though so great, was very quickly decided, it being * the ninth Hour when they first engag'd, and not ten when the Enemy was vanquish'd; the rest of the day was spent in the pursuit of such as fled, whom they follow'd a hundred and twenty Furlongs, so that it was far in the Night when they return'd.

* Three in the Afternoon.

All the rest were met by their Servants with Torches, and brought back with Joy and great Triumph to their Tents, which were set out with Lights, and deck'd with Wreaths of (1) Ivy and Laurel. But the General himself was overwhelm'd with Grief; for of the two Sons that serv'd under him in the War, the youngest was missing, whom he held most dear, and whose Courage and good Qualities, he knew, much excell'd Those of his Brethren; (2) as he was full of Courage and ambitious of Honour, but withal unexperienced by reason of his Youth, he concluded he was lost by engaging too far amongst his Enemies, for want of knowing better, and in the heat of Action. The whole Army was sensible of his Dejection and Sorrow, and quitting their Suppers, ran about with Lights, Some to *Emilius* his Tent, Some out of the Trenches to seek him amongst such as were slain in the first Onset. There was nothing but Grief in the Camp, and the Valley was fill'd with the Cries of such as call'd out for *Scipio*; for from his very Youth, he was endued above any of his Equals, with all the good Qualities requisite either for Command or Counsel. At length, when it was late, and they almost despair'd of him, he re-

(1) This was a constant Custom among the Romans. *Caesar* in his third Book of the civil Wars, saith that in *Pompey's* Camp he found the Tents of *Lentulus* and some Others cover'd with Ivy. *L. etiam Lentuli, & non-*

nullorum tabernacula protecta edera.

(1) *Plutarch* lays these down as so many Reasons for *Emilius* his affliction and despair. But *Livy* saith that *Scipio* was then in his seventeenth Year.

The LIFE of

turn'd from the Pursuit, with only two or three of his Companions, all cover'd with the fresh Blood of his Enemies, having, like a well-bred Dog, follow'd the Chase with too eager Pleasure of Victory. This was that *Scipio*, that afterwards destroy'd *Carthage* and *Numantium*; He was without dispute the valiantest of the *Romans*, and had the greatest Authority amongst them. Thus Fortune deferring the execution of her Spite at so brave an Exploit, to some other time, let *Emilius* at present enjoy this Victory with full Satisfaction and Delight.

As for *Perseus*, he fled from *Pydne* to *Pella*, with his Horse-men, which were as yet almost entire. But when the Foot met them, they upbraided them as Cowards and Traytors, threw them off their Horses, and fell to Blows, with which many were wounded. *Perseus* fearing the Consequences of the Tumult, forsook the common Road, and lest he should be known, pull'd off his Purple Robe, and carry'd it before him; took his Crown in his hand; and that he might the better converse with his Friends, alighted from his Horse and led him. Most of his Attendance left him by degrees, One pretending to tie his Shoe that was loose, Another to water his Horse, a Third to drink Himself; none of them having so much reason to fear their Enemies, as His Cruelty, for he was grown wild at this misfortune, and endeavour'd to clear Himself by laying the Blame upon Others. He arrived at *Pella* in the Night, were *Euctus* and *Eudeus*, two of his Treasurers, came to him, and what with their reflecting on his former Miscarriages, and their free and unseasonable Admonitions and Counsels upon the present Situation of his Affairs, so exasperated him, that he kill'd them Both, stabbing them with his own Dagger. After This nobody stuck to him but *Evander* the *Cretan*,
Arche-

Archedemus the *Etolian*, and *Neo* the *Bæotian*: And of the common Soldiers there follow'd him only Those from *Crete*, not out of any good will to his Person but for the sake of his Riches, to which they stuck as close as the Bees to their Hive. For he carried an immense Treasure about with him, (1) out of which he suffered them to take Cups, Bowls, and other Vessels of Silver and Gold, to the value of fifty Talents. But when he was come to *Amphipolis*, and afterwards to *Galepsus*, and his fears were a little abated, he relapsed into his old and natural disease of Covetousness, and bewailed to his Friends that he had through inadvertency distributed the Gold Plate belonging to *Alexander* the Great, amongst the *Cretans*, and besought Those that had it, with Tears in his Eyes to exchange with him again for Money. Those that understood him thoroughly, knew very well he only (2) plaid the *Cretan* with those of *Crete*; but They that believ'd him, and restored what they had, were cheated; for he not only did not pay the Money, but by craft got thirty Talents more of his Friends into his Hands, (which in a short time after fell to the Enemy) and sailing into *Samo-thracia*, fled to the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux* for refuge.

The *Macedonians* were always accounted great lovers of their Kings; but now, 'as if the chief

(1) *Livy* saith he suffer'd them to plunder it, because if he had made a Distribution of it among them it wou'd not have rais'd him so many Friends as Enemies. *Cretenses spero pecunia secuti, & quoniam in dividendo plus offensionum quam gratia erat, quinquaginta talenta iis posita, sunt in ripa diripienda.* 44. 45. This happen'd on the Banks of the *Strymon* in *Perseus* his Flight from *Amphipolis* to

Galepsus.

(2) That is with Fraud and Lies; for They had an ancient Proverb among them importing, the *Cretans* are always Liars, as may be seen in *Callimachus*. To This we may add that as the *Cretans* did not follow *Perseus*, but in order to rob him, so did *Perseus* make them this Proposition with the same Design.

Pillar of their Constitution was broken, and the Whole dissolved, they submitted to *Emilius*, and in two days time made Him Master of their whole Country. This seems agreeable to their Opinion that ascribe all his great Actions to good Fortune; which is farther confirmed by the Omen that happen'd at the Sacrifice in *Amphipolis*, where as *Emilius* was going to offer, and the holy Rites began, a Flash of Lightning fell on the Altar, set the Sacrifice on Fire; and sanctified it. But the share Fame had in this Affair is next to a Miracle, and far exceeds all they tell us of the Gods, or his good Fortune: For the fourth day after *Perseus* was vanquish'd at *Pydne*, whilst the People were beholding the running of the Horses in the *Circus*, there arose an unexpected Report that *Emilius* had overcome *Perseus*, and reduced all *Macedonia*. This report was immediately spread among the People, which caused an universal Joy, and Shouts and Acclamations fill'd the City all that Day: but when no certain Author of the News could be found, and every one appeared to have had it from hearsay, the Story was dropt for the present and vanished; (1) 'till a few Days after it came confirmed, and then the former intelligence was look'd upon as miraculous, which by a Fiction, had told the real Truth. It is reported also, that the News of a Battel that was fought in *Italy*, near the River *Sagra*, was carry'd into *Peloponnesus* the same day; and of that night *Mycale*, against the *Medes*, to *Platea*. When the *Romans* had defeated the *Tarquins*, who were combin'd with the *Latins*, there were almost at the same time at *Room* seen two goodly tall Men, who themselves brought the

(1) It was confirm'd by the express by *Emilius*, and reach'd Arrival of *Fabius Maximus* the Rome the 20th day after the Son of *Emilius*, *L. Lentulus*, and Action.
Q. Metellus, who had been sent

News from the Camp. (1) The first Man that spake to them in the Market-place near the Fountain, where they were refreshing their Horses, which were all of a Fome, much wondred at the Report of the Victory, when, 'tis said, they Both smil'd and gently strok'd his Beard with their Hands, the Hairs of which from being black, was on the Spot changed to be yellow. This Circumstance gave Credit to what they said, and fix'd the Name of *Enobarbus* (which is as much as Yellow Beard) on the Man. (2) But that which happen'd in our own Time, will make all These credible; for when (3) *Lucius Antonius* rebell'd against *Domitian*, and *Rome* was in a Consternation, expecting to see all *Germany* up in Arms, (4) the People on a sudden, no body knows upon what account, spread abroad a Rumour of the Victory, and the News ran current through the City, that *Antonius* himself was slain, his whole Army destroy'd, and that not so much as one Man had escap'd; nay, this belief carry'd with it such Clearness and

(1) His Name was *Lucius Domitius*, from whose Family *Nero* the Emperor was descended.

(2) There is not an Age that does not afford such sort of Examples of News known, and publish'd at a great Distance from the Place, and the same day wherein the Actions, to which it relates, were perform'd. *Grotius* attributes This to *Demons*, or *Genii*, whom he will have to be the Messengers of such early News. For when God makes the Prophet *Ezekiel*, who was at *Babylon*, behold the King of *Babylon* laying Siege to *Jerusalem*, *Facile*, saith *Grotius*, *Deo fuit res, qua tam longe gererantur sub ipsum tempus Prophetæ ostendere, cum id etiam Dæmones, Deo sinente, fecerint; si ut Cornelio*

sacerdoti, in Vnetis agenti, ostensa fuit tota series Pharsalici Prælii; teste Lucano, & Gellio, Apollonio vero Tyaneo cades Domitiani.

(3) This *L. Antonius* was Governour of the upper *Germany*, the Province of *Mayence*.

(4) *Suetonius* in the Life of *Domitian*, Chap. vi. relates a Passage, which might very well give Occasion to that Report, for he saith that the day in which the Battel was fought an Eagle was seen at *Rome* to embrace as it were with its Wings the Statue of *Domitian*, and to utter such sounds as seem'd Tokens of Joy. This was enough in Conscience to possess the People with a firm Belief of the Defeat, and Death of *Antonius*.

Force, that many of the Magistrates offer'd up Sacrifices. But when at length the Author of this Report was sought, and none was to be found, it vanish'd by degrees ; whilst every one shifted it off, from Himself to Another, and at last was lost in the numberless Crowd, as in a vast Ocean ; and having no solid Ground to support its Credit, was in a short time not so much as nam'd in the City. Nevertheless when *Domitian* march'd out with his Forces to the War, he met with Messengers and Letters, that gave him a Relation of the Victory ; and the Fame of this Conquest came the very Day it was gain'd, though the distance of the Places was more than two thousand five hundred Miles. The truth of this no Man amongst us can be ignorant of.

But to proceed : *Cneius Octavius*, who was join'd in command with *Emilius*, came to an Anchor with his Fleet under *Samothrace*, where out of his Devotion to the Gods, he permitted *Perseus* to enjoy the Benefit of Refuge, but took care that he should not escape by Sea. Notwithstanding This, *Perseus* secretly practis'd with *Oroandes* of *Crete*, who was Master of a Bark, to convey Him and his Treasure away. He, making use of the common Arts of his Country, took in the Treasure, and advis'd him to come in the Night with his Wife, Children, and necessary Attendants, to the Port call'd *Demetrius* ; but as soon as it grew dark he set sail without him.

The Hour appointed being come, *Perseus* with infinite Pains and Difficulty crept thorough a strait Window, crost a Garden, and with his Wife and Children, Persons unfit for such Labour and Fatigue, scrambled over an old ruinous Wall. But who can express the Anguish, and Agony he was in, when a Person who met him wandering on the Shore, told him he had seen *Oroandes* put out to Sea ; for the day then began to dawn. At this fatal

fatal News the disconsolate Prince fetch'd a deep sigh, such as might have moved the most barbarous Heart to Compassion; and being now bereft of all Hope he made back towards the Wall, not creeping as before in a clandestine Manner, for he saw he was discover'd, but endeavouring with all his Might to get thither if possible with his Wife, and eldest Son *Philip*, before the *Romans* cou'd overtake them. He had committed his other Children into the Hands of *Ion* of *Thessalonica*, who had been his Favourite, but betray'd him now in his Adversity, for he deliver'd them up to *Octavius*; so that, as Beasts do when their young are taken, he was compell'd to yield himself to Those, who had his Children in their Power. His greatest Confidence was in *Nasica*, and 'twas to Him he call'd, but he not being there, he bewail'd his Misfortune; and seeing there was no possible Remedy, surrender'd himself to *Octavius*. And here it was that he made it manifest, that he was possess'd with a Vice more sordid than Covetousness itself, to wit, the fondness of Life; by which he depriv'd himself even of Pity, the only thing that Fortune never takes away from the most wretched; (1) for he desir'd to be brought to *Emilius*, who arose from his Seat, and accompany'd with his Friends went to receive him with Tears in his

(1) *Plutarch* seems here to be too concise in his Narration, and by omitting several important Circumstances leaves his Reader as it were in the dark, for he speaks as if *Emilius* himself was at that time in *Samothracia*. *Octavius* put *Perseus* on board the Admiral Gally with all the Wealth that still remain'd to that unfortunate Prince. carry'd him back to *Amphipolis*, and from thence sent him to *Emilius* his Camp,

having by Letter first advis'd that General that he was coming. *Emilius* sent *Tubero* his Son-in-law to meet him. *Perseus* in a mourning Habit enter'd the Camp with his Son *Philip*. *Emilius* when he was in sight rose from his Seat, and stretch'd his Hand out to him; whilst *Perseus* threw himself at his Feet, but the Consul rais'd him from the Ground, and wou'd not suffer him to embrace his Knees.

Eyes,

Eyes, as a great Man (1) fallen by the special Appointment of the Gods, and his own ill Fortune; whilst *Perseus*, which was the most scandalous of Sights, threw himself at his Feet, embrac'd his Knees, and utter'd such unmanly Cries and Petitions, as *Emilius* was not able to bear, or would vouchsafe to hear; but looking on him (2) with a sad and angry Countenance, *What!* (says he) *Miserable as thou art, dost thou thus acquit Fortune, of what might seem her greatest Crime? For by these Actions thou appearest worthy of thy Calamity, and that it is not thy present Condition, but former Happiness, that was more than thy Deserts. What! dost thou thus take away from my Victory, and make my Conquest little, by proving Thy self a Coward, and a Foe below a Roman? the most unhappy Valour challenges a great Respect, even from Enemies; but Cowardice, though never so successful, from the Romans always meets with Scorn.* Yet for all this he took him up, gave him his hand, and deliver'd him into the Custody of *Tubero*.

(1) According to *Plutarch* *Emilius* must have been a Stoick; he believ'd that Men were not left at their own Liberty, but that they were drag'd along by the Force of immutable Destiny. This is a most dangerous Error, removing all Distinctions betwixt Virtue and Vice, and making God the Author of all our Mis-carriages. But *Livy* makes him speak in the style of One who had neither declared for the Doctrine of Free-Will, or of Necessity; for there he saith to *Perseus*: *Utrumque tamen hæc, sive errore humano, seu casu, seu necessitate inciderunt.* By what manner soever these things are brought about,

whether through human Error, or by Chance, or the Fatality of Destiny. These Words comprehend the three different Opinions of the Philosophers. *Human Error*, which implies Liberty according to the Academics; *Chance*, the Doctrine of *Epicurus*; and *Destiny*, the Opinion of *Zeno*, and the *Stoicks*.

(2) *Livy* gives an Account of this Meeting after another manner, and what he makes *Emilius* say upon the Occasion seems to Me both more grand, and more natural. *Perseus* did nothing but weep, without answering a Word. *Emilius* spoke always to him in Greek.

After

After this he carried his Sons, his Sons-in-law, and others of the chiefest Quality, especially Those of the younger sort, back with him into his Tent, where for a long time he sat down without speaking one word, insomuch that they all wondred at him. At last, he began to discourse of Fortune and human Affairs. *Is it possible, said he, for a Man so to be mis-led in Prosperity, as to suffer himself to be puff'd up, and grow arrogant upon having conquer'd Nations, forced Cities, and subdued Kingdoms, especially since Fortune herself, by those visible Marks of her Instability, and the melancholy Instances of human Frailty, takes care to admonish the haughty Conqueror, that even in the height and profusion of her Favours he is to expect from her nothing solid, nothing permanent ! In what season of Life can a Man think himself secure, when in the very Article of Victory he is forced to dread the Almighty Power of Fortune, and in the full Tide of Joy and Success meets with the strongest Arguments, of Jealousie and Distrust, as often as the Principles of Reason lead him to reflect on the immutable Order of Fate, which spares none, but humbles one Man to-day, and to-morrow Another ? When a Moment of time has been sufficient to overthrow the House of Alexander, which had exalted itself to the highest Pitch of Power, and reduced almost the whole World to Subjection ; when we are trampling on the Ruins of that House, so flourishing heretofore ; when we behold her Princes, who but yesterday were at the Head of a formidable Army compos'd of so many Millions, reduced to day to the necessity of asking Bread from their Enemies ; shall We, who behold This, presume to flatter our selves that our Affairs are settled upon a solid Foundation, and that Time itself shall have no Dominion over them ? Do you not therefore, my Children, for to you I speak, do you not suppress within you that Pride and Insolence which Victory inspires ? Do you not humble your selves*

selves with the Thoughts of what is to come, and expect with an awful Submission whatever it shall please Providence to inflict on each of You in Abatement of this day's Prosperity? Emilius having spoke much more to the same purpose, dismiss'd the young Men, whom this grave Discourse had seasonably chastized, and like a Bridle had curb'd their Vain-glory and Insolence.

When this was done, (1) he sent his Army into Quarters of Refreshment, and went himself to visit Greece; there to taste a Pleasure not more honourable, than conducing to the Benefit of Mankind. For as he pass'd through the Cities he eas'd the Peoples Grievances, reform'd their Government, and bestow'd Gifts upon them; to Some Corn, to Others Oil, out of the King's Store-Houses, in which (they report) there were such vast quantities laid up, that Receivers, and such as needed, were wanting before they could be exhausted. In *Delphi* he found a great square Pillar of white Marble, design'd for the Pedestal of King *Perseus* his Statue, on which he commanded his Own to be plac'd; alledging, that it was but just, that the Conquered should give place to the Conqueror. In *Olympia* he is said to have utter'd that so celebrated Speech, (2) *This Jupiter of Phidias is*
the

(1) He first sent his Son *Fabius Maximus*, who was return'd from *Rome*, and *L. Posthumius*, each with separate Parties, to reduce some Places that held out, and at his Departure left the Command of the Camp with *Sulpitius Galba*.

(2) This is the highest Commendation that cou'd be given in favour of *Phidias* for having so well express'd *Homer's* Idea; but it is still more to the Praise of

Homer, who cou'd so clearly conceive, and represent the whole Majesty of the Deity; so that he well deserv'd the Character of having been the only Person, who saw, and knew how to make the Gods be seen. *Solum vidisse aut ostendisse formas Deorum.* Livy saith but one Word upon the Occasion. but it is great, and significant; *Olympiam ascendit, ubi & alia quadam spectanda visa, & Jovem, velut presentem intuens*
motus,

the very Jupiter of Homer (1) When the ten Commissioners arriv'd from Rome, (2) he deliver'd up again to the Macedonians their Cities and Country, granting them to live at liberty, and according to their own Laws, only yielding to the Romans the Tribute of a hundred Talents, whereas they were wont to pay double that Summ to their Kings. Then he celebrated all manner of Shows, and Games, and Sacrifices to the Gods, and made great Entertainments and Feasts; the Charge of all which he liberally defray'd out of the King's Treasury; and shew'd that he understood the ordering and placing of his Guests, and how every Man should be receiv'd according to his Rank and Quality, to such an exact nicety, that (3) the Greeks were surpris'd to find him so expert and careful,

motus animo est. He went up to Olympia where he saw many things worth seeing, but upon beholding the Statue of Jupiter he was struck with Awe as if the God himself had been present. This Statue was of Ivory, and of so prodigious a size that tho' it was carv'd sitting and placed in a very lofty Temple, yet it almost touch'd the Ceiling; insomuch that if it was to have been rais'd upon its Legs it wou'd have carry'd off the Roof.

(1) We find in Livy the Names of those Commissioners, and their Instructions from the Senate, which give us a full Idea of the great Wisdom of that August Assembly. 45. 17, 18.

(2) Livy saith he suppress't the Farms of their Mines, and of the Revenues of their Lands, and gives this solid reason for it, because they cou'd not be held but by Publicans, and that wher ever there are Such there publick

Right loseth its force, and Liberty its very Being. Nam neque sine Publicano exerceri posse, & ubi Publicanus est. ibi aut jus publicum vanum, aut Libertatem sociis nullam esse. Livy adds, upon Emilius his declaring the Cities free, *Ut omnibus gentibus apparent arma Populi Romani non Liberis servitutem, sed contra servientibus Libertatem asferre.* That all the World might know that their Arms were not employ'd to make Slaves of Those that are Free, but on the contrary to free such as are in Slavery.

(3) It was the rather to be wonder'd at, because at that time the Romans were but an unpolish'd sort of People, and knew not how to set forth such magnificent, and elegant Entertainments. Liv. 45. 32. *ita factum est, ut non magnificentiam tantum sed Prudentiam in dandis spectaculis, ad qua rudes tum Romani erant, admirarentur.*

even

even about trifles, and that a Man engaged in so many weighty Affairs shou'd observe a Decorum in such little matters. That which gave him the greatest satisfaction was, that amidst such magnificent and splendid Preparations, he Himself was always the most grateful Sight, and greatest Pleasure to Those he entertained. And he told Them that seem'd to wonder at his Diligence, *That there was the same Spirit required in marshalling a Banquet, as an Army; whilst the One was to be rendred very dreadful to the Enemy, the Other very acceptable to the Guests.* Nor did Men less praise his Liberality, and the Greatness of his Mind, than his other Virtues; for he would not so much as see those great Quantities of Silver and Gold, which were heap'd together out of the King's Palaces, but deliver'd them to the Questors, to be put into the Publick Treasury. He only permitted his own Sons, who were great Lovers of Learning, to take the King's Books; and when he distributed such Rewards as were due to extraordinary Valour, he gave his Son-in-Law, *Tubero*, only a Bowl that weigh'd five Pounds: This is that *Tubero* we have already mention'd, who was one of the sixteen Relations that liv'd together, and were all maintain'd out of one little Farm; and 'tis said that this was the first Plate that ever enter'd the House of the *Elians*, and This was brought thither, as an Honour and Reward of Virtue; for before this time, neither They nor their Wives would ever make use either of Silver or Gold.

Having thus well settled Things, taken his leave of the *Grecians*, and exhorted the *Macedonians*, that mindful of that Liberty they had receiv'd from the *Romans*, they should endeavour to maintain it, by their Obedience to the Laws, and Concord amongst themselves, he departed for *Epire*; for he had Orders from the Senate, to give the
Soldiers

Soldiers that follow'd him in the War against *Perseus*, the Pillage of the Cities of that Country. Wherefore, that he might surprize and set upon them all at once, he summon'd ten of the principal Men out of every City, whom he commanded on such an appointed Day, to bring all the Gold and Silver they had either in their private Houses or Temples, and with every one of these, as if it were for this very purpose, and under a pretence of searching for and receiving the Gold, he sent a Centurion, and a Guard of Soldiers; who, the set Day being come, rose all at once, and at the very self-same time fell upon them; so that in the space of one hour a hundred and fifty thousand Persons were made Slaves, and threescore and ten Cities sack'd. Yet what was given to each Soldier, out of so vast a Destruction and utter Ruin, amounted to no more than eleven Drachms; which made all Men dread the Issue of a War, when the Wealth of a whole Nation thus divided, turn'd to so little Advantage and Profit to each particular Man.

When *Emilius* had done This, which was perfectly contrary to his gentle and mild Nature, he went down to *Oricum*, where he embark'd his Army for *Italy*. He sail'd up the River *Tiber* in the King's Galley, that had sixteen Oars on a side, and was richly adorn'd with the Armour of the Prisoners, and with Cloaths of Purple and Scarlet; so that rowing the Vessels slowly against the Stream, the *Romans* that crowded on the Shoar to meet him, had a taste of his following Triumph. But the Soldiers who had cast a covetous Eye on the Treasures of *Perseus*, when they cou'd not obtain what they thought they so well deserv'd, were not only secretly enrag'd, and angry with *Emilius* for it, but openly complain'd, that he had been a severe and tyrannical Commander over them; nor were they so desirous of a Triumph as might have been expected.

pected. When *Servius Galba*, who was *Emilius* his Enemy, though he had commanded a thousand Men under him, understood This, he pull'd off the Mask, and was so bold as to affirm, That a Triumph was not to be allow'd him; and sow'd divers Calumnies among the Soldiers, which yet further increas'd their ill-will towards him, and desir'd the Tribunes of the People, because the four hours that were remaining of the Day could not suffice for the Accusation, that they would put it off till Another. But when the Tribunes commanded him to speak then, if he had any thing to say, he began a long Oration, stuff'd with all manner of Reproaches, in which he spent the remaining part of the time, and the Tribunes, when it was dark, dismiss'd the Assembly. The Soldiers growing more vehement by this, throng'd all about *Galba*, and entering into a Conspiracy, early in the Morning again beset the Capitol, where the Tribunes had appointed the following Assembly to be held. As soon as it was day, it was put to the Vote, (1) and the first Tribe with a general Consent rejected the Triumph. When what was done was spread about, and understood by the rest of the Assembly, the common People declar'd themselves very much griev'd, that *Emilius* should meet with such Ignominy; but this was only in words, which had no effect; whilst the chief of the Senate exclaim'd against it as a base Action, and excited one another to repress the Boldness and Insolence of the Soldiers, which, if not timely prevented, would in a while become altogether headstrong and ungovern-

(1) What an Inconsistency is This! they granted it to *Anicius* and *Octavius*, but refus'd it to *Emilius*, with whom the other Two had not the Confidence to stand in Competition. *Livy* gives us the Reason of this Inconsistency, *Intacta Invidia Media sunt, ad Summa fere tendit. Envy passeth over Those that are in a Middle Station, and aims only at Those who are exalted.*

able. Wherefore pressing the Crowd, they came up in a Body, and desir'd the Tribunes to defer Polling, till they had deliver'd what they had to say to the People. All things thus suspended, and Silence being made, *Marcus Servilius* stood up, a Man of Consular Dignity, and who had kill'd twenty three of his Enemies in single Combat. (1) *I am now* (said he) *convinced more than ever, that Paulus Emilius is an able General, since he has perform'd such famous and great Exploits, with an Army so full of Sedition and Licentiousness; but can never enough admire how a People that seem'd to glory in the Triumphs over the Illyrians and Africans, can now through Envy refuse to see the Macedonian King led alive Captive, and all the Glory of Philip and Alexander subdu'd by the Roman Power. For is it not a strange thing for you, who upon a slight Rumour of Victory, that came by chance into the City, did offer Sacrifices, and put up your Requests unto the Gods, that you might see the Report verifi'd; now, when the General is returned with an undoubted Conquest, to defraud the Gods of the Honour, and yourselves of the Joy, as if you fear'd to behold the greatness of his warlike deeds, or were resolv'd to spare the King. And of the two, much better were it to put a stop to the Triumph, out of Pity unto Him, than out of Envy to your General; yet to such a height of Power is Malice arriv'd amongst you, that one in a whole Skin, shining fat with Ease, and nicely bred in Shades, dares talk of the Office of a General and a Triumph, and that before you, who by your own many words, have learn'd to judge of the Valour or the Cowardice of your Commanders. And at the same time putting aside his Garment, he shew'd an infinite number of Scars upon his Breast, and turning about discover'd those Parts which are not de-*

(1) This Speech of *Marcus Servilius* is at full Length in *Livy*, and profitable to compare those from which *Plutarch* has taken his two Speeches.

cent to be exposed. Then applying himself to Galba, who fell a laughing when he saw them swell'd, (1) *Thou (says he) deridest me for these Swellings, in which I glory before my Fellow-Citizens, for 'tis in their Service, in which I rode incessantly night and day, that I receiv'd them; but go on to collect the Votes, whilst I follow after, and note the base and ungrateful, and such as chuse rather to obey the Rabble in War, than to be commanded by their General.* 'Tis said, this Speech so stopp'd the Soldiers Mouths, and alter'd their Minds, that all the Tribes decreed a Triumph for *Emilius*; which was perform'd after this manner.

The People erected Scaffolds in the *Forum*, and Places where the Running of Horses us'd to be seen, (they are call'd by them *Cirques*) and in all other parts of the City, where they could best behold the Pomp. The Spectators were clad in white Garments, all the Temples were open, and full of Garlands and Perfumes, the Ways clear'd and cleans'd by a great many Officers and Tipstaves, that removed such as throng'd the Passages, or straggl'd up and down. This Triumph lasted three Days. On the First, which was scarce long enough for the Sight, was to be seen the Statues, Pictures and Images, of an extraordinary bigness, which were taken from the Enemy, drawn upon seven hundred and fifty Chariots. On the Second, was carried in a great many Wains the fairest and richest Armour of the *Macedonians* both of Brass and Steel, all newly furbish'd and glittering;

(1) This Passage has not been well understood. Galba did not laugh at *Servilius* his Wounds, but at the swelling of the Parts, which he had inadvertently expos'd to View. This Passage is put in a very clear Light in *Livy*, 45. 39. *Nudasse deinde se dicitur. & quo quaque vulnera accepta bello retinisset.*

se. Qua dum ostensat, ad apertis forte qua velanda erant, rumor inguinum proximis visum movit. Tum hoc quoque quod ridetis, inquit, in equis dies, noctesque perdendo, habeo. Nec magis me ejus quam Cicatricum harum pudet, panissetque, &c.

which

which although pil'd up with the greatest Art and Order, yet seem'd to be tumbled on heaps carelessly and by chance; Helmets were thrown upon Shields, Coats of Mail upon Greaves, *Cretian* Targets and *Thracian* Bucklers, and Quivers of Arrows, lay huddled amongst the Horses Bits, and through These there appear'd the points of naked Swords, intermix'd with long Spears. All these Arms were ty'd together with such a just liberty, that they knock'd against one another as they were drawn along, and made a harsh and terrible noise, so that the very Spoils of the Conquer'd could not be beheld without dread. After these Waggon's loaden with Armour, there follow'd three thousand Men, who carried the Silver that was coin'd, in seven hundred and five Vessels, each of which weigh'd three Talents, and was born by four Men. Others brought Silver Bowls, and Goblets, and Cups, all dispos'd in such Order as to make the best shew, and all valuable, as well for their bigness as the thickness of their engraved Work. On the Third Day early in the morning, first came the Trumpeters, who did not sound as they were wont in a Procession or solemn Entry, but such a Charge as the *Romans* use when they encourage their Soldiers to fight. Next follow'd young Men girt about with Girdles curiously wrought, which led to the Sacrifice sixscore stall'd Oxen, with their Horns gilded, and their Heads adorn'd with Ribbands and Garlands, and with These were Boys that carried Platters of Silver and Gold. After This was brought the Gold Coin, which was divided into Vessels, that weigh'd three Talents, like to Those that contain'd the Silver; they were in number fourscore wanting three. These were followed by Those that brought the consecrated Bowl, which *Emilius* had caus'd to be made, that weigh'd ten Talents, and was all beset with precious Stones. Then were expos'd to view the Cups of *Antigonus*

and *Seleucus*, and such as were made after the fashion invented by *Thericles*, and all the Gold Plate that was used at *Perseus* his Table. Next to These came *Perseus* his Chariot, in which his Armour was plac'd, and on That his Diadem. And after a little intermission, the King's Children were led Captives, and with them a Train of Nurses, Masters and Governors, who all wept and stretcht forth their Hands to the Spectators, and taught the little Infants to beg and intreat their Compassion. There were two Sons and a Daughter, who by reason of their tender Age were altogether insensible of the greatness of their Misery, which insensibility of their Condition, rendred it much more deplorable; insomuch that *Perseus* himself was scarce regarded as he went along, whilst Pity had fix'd the Eyes of the *Romans* upon the Infants, and many of them could not forbear Tears; All beheld the Sight with a mixture of Sorrow and Joy, until the Children were past. After his Children and their Attendants, came *Perseus* himself, clad all in black, and wearing Slippers after the fashion of his Country: he look'd like one altogether astonish'd and depriv'd of Reason, through the greatness of his Misfortunes. Next follow'd a great many of his Friends and Familiars, whose Countenances were disfigur'd with Grief, and who testify'd to all that beheld them, by their Tears, and their continual looking upon *Perseus*, that it was His hard Fortune they so much lamented, and that they were regardless of their Own. *Perseus* sent to *Emilius*, to intreat that he might not be led in Pomp, but be left out of the Triumph; who deriding (as was but just) his Cowardice and Fondness of Life, sent him this Answer, *That as for that, it was before, and is now in his own Power*; giving him to understand, that this Disgrace was to be prevented by dispatching himself, which the faint-hearted Wretch had not the

Courage

Courage to do, but being^l made effeminate by I know not what hopes, became a part of his own Spoils. After These were carried four hundred Crowns, all made of Gold, and sent from the Cities by their respective Ambassadors to *Emilius*; as a Reward due to his Valour. Then He himself came seated on a Chariot magnificently adorn'd, (a Man worthy to be beheld, even without these Ensigns of Power) He was clad in a Garment of Purple, interwoven with Gold, and held out a Laurel Branch in his Right Hand. All the Army in like manner with Boughs of Laurel in their Hands, divided into Bands and Companies, followed the Chariot of their Commander; Some singing Odes (according to the usual Custom) mingled with Raillery; Others, Songs of Triumph, and the Praise of *Emilius* his Deeds; who was admir'd and accounted happy by all Men, and unenvy'd by every one that was good: Only it seems to be the Province of some jealous Being, to lessen that Happiness which is too great and inordinate, and so to mingle the Affairs of Human Life, that no one shall be entirely free and exempt from Calamities; but (as it is said in *Homer*) that Those should think themselves truly blessed, (1) to whom Fortune has given an equal share of Good and Evil.

Emilius had four Sons, of which *Scipio* and *Fabius* (as is already related) were adopted into other Families; the other Two, which he had by a second Wife, and were yet but young, he brought up in his own House. One of these died at fourteen years

(1) *Plutarch* has here in View that Passage in the last Book of the *Iliad*, where *Homer* saith, there are two Vessels standing, One on the One Side, and the Other on the other Side of the Throne of *Jupiter*; that One of These is fill'd with Evil, and the Other with

Good; that They are the Unfortunate whose Portion is taken all out of the First, and that They are the most happy, for Whom *Jupiter* provides an equal Mixture out of Both, and that the Good without alloy is reserv'd only for the Gods.

of Age, five days before his Father's Triumph; the Other at twelve, three days after: So that there was not a *Roman* without a deep sense of his Suffering, and every one dreaded the Cruelty of Fortune, that did not scruple to bring so much Sorrow into a House replenish'd with Happiness, Rejoicing, and Sacrifices, and to intermingle Tears and Complaints, with Songs of Victory and Triumph. But *Emilius* reasoning according to Judgment, consider'd that Courage and Resolution was not only requisite to resist Armour and Spears, but also to withstand all the Shocks of ill Fortune; and so did he adapt and temper the Necessity of his present Circumstances, as to over-balance the Evil with the Good, and his private Concerns with Those of the Publick; that thus they might neither take away from the Grandeur, nor sully the Dignity of his Victory. For, as soon as he had buried the first of his Sons, (as we have already said) he triumph'd; and the second deceasing almost as soon as his Triumph was over, he called an Assembly of the People, and made an Oration to them, not like a Man that stood in need of Comfort from Others, but of one that undertook to support his Fellow-Citizens, who griev'd for the Sufferings He himself underwent.

(1) *I (says he) that never yet fear'd any thing merely human, amongst such as are divine, have always had a Dread of Fortune as faithless and unconstant; and on the very account that in this War she had been as a favourable Gale in all my Affairs, I still expected some Change and Tempest. For in one Day (says he) I pass'd the Ionian Sea, and arriv'd from Brundisium at Corcyra; thence in five more I sacrificed at Delphi, and in other five days came up to my Forces in*

(1) It may be worth the Reader's while to compare this Speech with That in *Livy*. Nothing can be more entertaining than such Comparisons.

Macedonia;

Macedonia; where, after I had finished the usual Sacrifices for the Purifying of the Army, I fell to my design'd Business, and in the space of fifteen days put an honourable Period to the War. But when I still had a Jealousy of Fortune, even from the smooth Current of my Affairs, and saw myself secure and free from the Danger of any Enemy, I chiefly dreaded the change of the Goddess at Sea, whilst through my Success I brought home with me so great and victorious an Army, such vast Spoils, and Kings themselves Captives. Nay more, after I was return'd to you safe, and saw the City full of Joy, Congratulating, and Sacrifices, yet still did I suspect Fortune, as well knowing that she never conferr'd any Benefits that were sincere, and without some Allay. Nor could my Mind (that was still as it were in Labour, and always foreseeing something to befall this City) free itself from this Fear, until so great a Misfortune befell me in my own Family, and that in the midst of those days set apart for Triumph, I carried two of the best of Sons one after another to their Funerals. Now therefore am I myself safe from Danger, at least as to what was my greatest Care; and I trust and am verily persuaded, that for the time to come, Fortune will prove constant and harmless unto you; for she has sufficiently wreck'd her Envy at our great Exploits on Me and Mine; nor is the Conqueror a less famous Example of human Frailty, than the Man be led in Triumph, with this only difference, that Perseus, though conquer'd, does yet enjoy his Children, and the Conqueror Emilius is deprived of His. (1) This is the generous Speech Emilius is said to speak to the People, from a Heart truly sincere, and free from all Artifice.

Although he very much pitied *Perseus* his Condition, and studied to befriend him in what he was

(1) *Livy* with great Justice calls this Discourse, *memorabilis Oratio*, memorable Speech, worthy a Roman General.
 & *Romano principe digna*. A me-

able, yet could he procure no other favour than his (1) removal from the common Prison, into a more cleanly and comfortable Place of security, where (it is said) he starved himself to death. Others relate a very particular and unheard-of manner of his dying, That the Soldiers that were his Guard, having conceiv'd a Spite and Hatred against him for some certain Reasons, and finding no other way to grieve and afflict him, kept him from sleep with all diligence, disturb'd him when he was dispos'd to rest, and found out Contrivances to continue him still waking; by which means at length he was quite tired out, and gave up the Ghost. Two of his Children also died soon after him; the third, who was named *Alexander*, (they say) prov'd an exquisite Artist in turning and graving in Miniature, and withal learn'd so perfectly to speak and write the *Roman Language*, that he became Clerk to the Senate, and behav'd himself in his Office with great Skill and Conduct.

They ascribe to *Emilius's* Conquest in *Macedonia*, this most acceptable Benefit to the People, viz. That he brought so vast a quantity of Money into the Publick Treasury, that (2) they never paid any Taxes 'till *Hircius* and *Pansa* were Consuls, which was in the first Year of the War between *Anthony* and *Cæsar*. There was this peculiar and remarkable in *Emilius*, That though he was extreamly belov'd and honour'd by the People, yet he always sided with the Nobles; nor would he either say or do any thing to ingratiate himself with the Vulgar, but constantly adher'd to the Nobility, and

- (1) *Quintus Cassius* was order'd by the Senate to remove *Perseus* and his Son *Alexander* to *Alba*, where he was attended by a Guard, but was supply'd with Money, and all other Conveniences, and had pro- per Persons appointed to wait upon and serve him.
- (2) That is, during the Space of an Hundred and twenty five Years. Such Victories are not only glorious but profitable.

Men

Men of the chiefest Rank, in all matters of Government. Which thing in after-times was cast in *Scipio Africanus* his Teeth by *Appius*; for these two were in their time the most considerable Men in the City, and stood in competition for the Office of *Censor*. The One had on his side the Nobles and the Senate, (to which Party the Family of the *Appians* were always true;) the Other, although his own Interest was great, yet he did make use of the Favour and Love of the People. When therefore *Appius* saw *Scipio* come to the *Forum* surrounded with Men of mean Rank, and such as were but newly made free, yet were very fit to manage a Debate, gather together the Rabble, and carry whatsoever they design'd by Importunity and Noise, crying out with a loud Voice; *Groan now* (says he) *O Paulus Emilius! If you have knowledge in your Grave of what is done above, that your Son pretends to be Censor, by the help of Emilius a common Cryer, and Licinnius a Barretor.* As for *Scipio*, he always had the good Will of the People, because he was still heaping up Favours on them; but *Emilius*, although he still took part with the Nobles, yet was he as much their Darling, as He that was esteem'd most popular, and fought by little Arts to ingratiate himself with the Multitude: and This they made manifest, when amongst other Dignities, they thought him worthy of (1) the Office of *Censor*, a Trust accounted most sacred, and of very great

(1) He was chosen Censor with *Quintus Martius Philippus*, four Years after his second Consulate. in the Year of Rome 589, the first Year of the 154th Olympiad, and 162 Years before the Birth of our Saviour. This Dignity of Censor was at its first Creation of but small Consequence, for it was

establish'd only to take the Number of the People; but it soon grew to be very considerable, and to have almost an unbounded Authority. *Livy* speaking of the Consulate of *Geganus Macerinus*, and *Quintius Capitolinus*. *Idem hic Annus Censura initium fuit, rei a parva Origine orta. Quae deinde tanto Incremento*

The LIFE of

great Authority, as well in other things as in the strict Examination into Mens Lives: For the *Censors* had Power to expel a Senator, and inroll whom they judg'd most fit in his room, and to disgrace such young Men as liv'd licenziously, by taking away their Horses. Besides this, they were to value and cels each Man's Estate, and register the number of the People: There were numbred by *Emilius* thirty three Million seven Thousand four Hundred and fifty two Men. He declar'd *Marcus Emilius Lepidus* Prince of the Senate, who had already four times arrived at that Honour, and remov'd from their Office only three Senators of the least Note. The same Moderation he and his Fellow *Censor*, *Marcus Philippus*, us'd at the Muster of the Roman Knights.

Whilst he was thus busy about many and weighty Affairs, he fell sick of a Disease, which at first seem'd hazardous; and although after a while it prov'd without Danger, yet was it very troublesome and difficult to be cur'd; so that by the Advice of his Physicians he sail'd to *Velia*, a Town in *Italy*, and there dwelt a long time near the Sea, where he enjoy'd all possible Quietness. The *Romans* in the mean-while long'd for his Return, and oftentimes by their Speeches in the Theatres, gave publick Testimonies of their great Desires and Impatience to see him. When therefore the time drew nigh, that a solemn Sacrifice was of necessity to be offered, and he found, as he thought, his Body strong enough, he came back again to *Rome*, and there perform'd the Holy Rites with the rest of the Priests, the People in the mean time crowding a-

cremento aucta est. ut morum, disciplinaque Romana penes eam Regimen, Senatus equitumque Centuria. decoris, dedecorisque discrimen subditiōe ejus Magistratus, publicorum jus, privatorumque locorum,

& Veditigia Populi Romani sub nutu, atque arbitrio essent. There were always two Censors, who held the Office five Years together, and before they quitted they took the Number of the People.

bout him, and congratulating his Return. The next day he sacrific'd again to the Gods for his Recovery; and having finish'd the Rites, return'd to his House, (1) and went to Bed; when all on a sudden, and before any Change cou'd be perceiv'd in him, he fell into a raging Fit, and being quite depriv'd of his Senses, (2) the third day after ended his Life, in which he had wanted no manner of thing, which is thought conducive to human Happiness. His Funeral also was attended with the most solemn and surprizing Pomp, and his Virtue grac'd with the best and happiest Obsequies; not such as consisted in Gold and Ivory, or the like sumptuous and splendid Preparations, but in the good-will, honour and love, not only of his Fellow-Citizens, but even of his Enemies. For as many of the *Spaniards*, *Ligurians* and (3) *Macedonians* as happen'd to be then at *Rome*, and were young

(1) The Word *κατακλιθεὶς* does not signify in this Place sitting down at Table, but going to Bed. *Emilius* had no Occasion to sit down to eat, for he was just come from a Sacrifice, which was always attended with a Repast.

(2) He died in the 593d Year of *Rome*, 158 Years before the Incarnation, and at 68 Years of Age.

(3) *Valerius Maximus* tells us, that Those *Macedonians* who perform'd this last Office to *Emilius*, were some of the best Quality in the Country residing then at *Rome*, in the Character of Ambassadors, upon which he makes a Reflection, that is well worth reading. *Quod aliquanto majus videbitur si quis cognoscat lecti illius frontem Macedonicis triumphis fuisse adornatam. Quantum enim Paulo tribuerant, propter quem Gentis sua cladium*

*indicia per ora Vulgi ferre non exhorruerunt? Quod spectaculum funeri speciem alterius triumphi adjecit. The Behaviour of the Macedonians on this Occasion will appear still more extraordinary, if we consider that the fore part of the Bier was adorn'd with Pictures representing the Triumphs of the Deceas'd, for the Conquest of their Country. What Veneration must They have for that Man whose respect to his Memory was so great, that without any Reluctancy they could themselves bear as it were in Procession, in the View of all the People, the Marks or Memorials of the subduing of their Nation? This Sight turn'd even the Solemnity of his Funeral Rites into the Glory of a second Triumph. Plutarch shou'd not have omitted a Saying of *Emilius*, remembered by *Sempronius Aferrius* the Historian, which he had from his Son *Scipio*,*

The Comparison of

young and lusty, help'd to carry the Bier, whilst the aged followed, calling *Emilius* their Benefactor and the Preserver of their Countries. He did indeed not only in the time of his Victories treat all with kindness and clemency, but continu'd all the rest of his Life still to serve and oblige them, as if they had been his intimate Friends and Relations.

* In English
Money
119+7 l.
18s. 04 d.

(1) They say his whole Estate scarce amounted to * three hundred and seventy thousand Dracms, which he left between his two Sons; but *Scipio* the younger, who was adopted into the richer Family of *Africanus*, gave it all to his Brother. This Account we have of the Life and Character of *Paulus Emilius*.



The Comparison of Timoleon with P. Emilius.

IF we consider these two Heroes, as Historians have represented them to us, very little difference will be found between 'em in the Comparison. They made War with two Powerful Enemies: The One against the *Macedonians*, and the Other

Scipio, under whom he serv'd in quality of a military Tribune at the Siege of *Numantium*. *Scipio* told him he had often heard his Father say, that a good General never engaged with the Enemy but in case of the utmost Necessity, or of a favourable Opportunity. *Tunc se Patrem suum audisse dicere L. Emilium Paulum, nimis bonum Imperatorem signis collatis non decertare nisi summa necessitate, aut summa ei occasio data esset.*

(1) That *Paulus Emilius*, tho' descended from One of the most

august and antient Families in *Rome*, a Family illustrious for the many Dignities and Employments it for a long time held in the State, shou'd inherit only a moderate Fortune, reflects an Honour to his Ancestors. But that He himself shou'd persevere in the same Temperance and Mediocrity even to his dying day, and that after he had overturn'd the greatest Empire in the World, brought immense Riches into the publick Treasury, and loaded his Soldiers with Largeesses, that after all This be

Other against the *Carthaginians*, and the Success of Both was equally glorious. One of them conquer'd *Macedon*, and subverted the Structure of *Antigonus* his Fortune and Family, which had flourish'd down from him in an uninterrupted Succession of seven Kings; the Other expell'd Tyranny out of *Sicily*, and restor'd that Island to its antient Liberty. Unless it be urged in Favour of (1) *Emilius*, that He engag'd with *Perseus*, when his Forces were entire, and compos'd of such Men as had often fought with Success against the *Romans*: Whereas *Timoleon* found *Dionysius* in a despairing Condition, his Affairs being reduc'd to the last Extremity. On the other Hand, This may be said in Favour of *Timoleon*, That he vanquish'd several Tyrants and a Powerful *Carthaginian* Army, with an inconsiderable number of Men gather'd together from all Parts: Not with such an Army as *Emilius* had, of well-disciplin'd Soldiers, experienc'd in War, and accusom'd to obey; but such as through the hopes of Gain resorted to him, unskill'd in Fighting and ungovernable. (2) And when Actions are equally glorious, and the Means to compass them unequal, the greatest Esteem is certainly due to that General, who conquers with the smaller Power.

Both had the Reputation of behaving themselves with an uncorrupted Integrity, in all Affairs they

he shou'd die without adding one Drachma to his Patrimony. This Honour is peculiarly his Own. There is nothing so glorious as a voluntary Poverty. proceeding from a true Dignity of Mind. If we thoroughly examine into the Lives of the greatest Personages of Antiquity, We shall find, generally speaking, that He was the Greatest who was the Poorest.

(1) For 'tis certain, that the Strength or Weakness of an Ene-

my makes a great Difference between the Generals that conquer 'em.

(2) A General that performs great Things with a few Troops, and those undisciplin'd, is without Dispute, infinitely above One, who performs the same Things with a numerous experienc'd Army; because in the former Case all seems to be owing to the General.

manag'd:

The Comparison of

manag'd: But *Emilius* had the advantage of being from his Infancy, by the Laws and Customs of his Country, train'd up to the well management of publick Affairs, which *Timoleon* wanted, (1) but by use brought himself to. And this is plain; for at that time all the *Romans* were educated with the greatest Modesty and Temperance, and taught a Reverence for, and an inviolable Observance to the Laws of their Country; Whereas 'tis remarkable, that not one of the *Grecian* Generals commanding in *Sicily*, cou'd keep himself uncorrupted, except *Dion*, and of Him they entertain'd a Jealousy, that he wou'd establish a Monarchy there, after the *Lacedemonian* manner. *Timeus* writes, that the *Syracusians* sent *Gylippus* home loaden with Infamy, for his unsatiable Covetousness, and the many Bribes he took when he commanded the Army. Divers Historians mention, that *Pharax* the *Spartan*, and *Callippus* the *Athenian*, committed several wicked and treacherous Acts, designing to make themselves Kings of *Sicily*. But what were these Men, and what strength had they to nourish so vain a Thought? For the First of them was a Follower of *Diomyfius*, when he was expell'd *Syracuse*, and the Other a hired Captain of Foot under *Dion*, and came into *Sicily* with him.

But *Timoleon*, at the Request and Prayers of the *Syracusians*, was sent to be their General, not seeking for the Command, but when plac'd in his hands, manag'd it to the best advantage; (1) and

no

(1) It requires a much higher Degree of Virtue to be virtuous in the midst of a corrupt People, than where every Body gives a good Example. The Reason is very evident.

(2) If *Pharax* and *Callippus*, Persons of little Consideration,

began to entertain ambitious Thoughts, finding themselves at the Head of a few Troops; to what might not *Timoleon* have pretended, who was one of the chief Men of his Country, and General of a mighty Army? It requires a great Degree of Prudence as well

as

no sooner had he restor'd *Sicily* to her Liberty, but he willingly resign'd his Charge.

This is truly worthy our Admiration in *Emilius*, That tho' he conquer'd so great and so rich a Realm, as that of *Macedon*, yet he wou'd not touch, nor see any of the Money, nor did he advantage himself one farthing by it, though he was very generous of his own to others—— This is not mention'd to reflect on *Timoleon*, for accepting of a fair House and handsome Estate in the Country, with which the *Syracusans* had presented him; for on that occasion it was not dishonest to receive 'em: But yet there is greater Glory in a Refusal; and that is the supremest Virtue, which lets the Praise of good Men be the Reward of its Actions, and refuses all Gifts, how well soever it may have deserv'd them. And as that Body is, without doubt, the most strong and healthful, which can the easiest support extream Cold and excessive Heat, in the Change of Seasons; and That the most firm and collected Mind, which is not puff'd up with Prosperity, nor dejected in Adversity: So the Virtue of *Emilius* was eminently seen, in that his Countenance and Carriage was the same upon the Loss of two beloved Sons, as when he atchiev'd his greatest Victories and Triumphs. (1) But *Timoleon*, after he had justly punished his Brother, a truly heroick Action, (2) let his Reason yield to a causeless Sor-

row,

as Virtue, to be able to employ so great Power to no other End than the Relief and Welfare of the People. This is one great Part of *Timoleon's* Commendation.

(1) This is the Judgment *Plutarch* pass'd before on this Action of *Timoleon* in killing his Brother; but in this no Body that has just Notions of what is truly Praise or Blame-worthy will agree with

him. That extravagant Zeal the *Pagans* had for their Country, and their unbounded Love of Liberty, as I observ'd before, had quite banish'd out of their Minds all true Notions of Justice; which they improperly made to consist, either in what was conducive to the Publick Good, or their own private Interest.

(2) In my Opinion, the Advantage

row, and, dejected with Grief and Remorse, he forbore for twenty years together to appear in any publick Place, or meddle with any Affairs of the Commonwealth. 'Tis truly (1) very commendable to abhor and shun the doing of any base Action; (2) but to stand in fear of the Peoples Censure, or common Talk, may argue a harmless and peaceable Mind, (3) but never a brave and truly heroick Soul.

vantage *Plutarch* gives *P. Emilius* over *Timoleon* in this Place, is not over just. A Man will more easily be comforted for the Death of his Children, than for the Murder of his Brother. But *Plutarch* speaks here according to his own way of judging, looking upon this Action of *Timoleon* as every way great and just.

(1) The whole Matter is to know whether *Timoleon's* Action in killing his Brother be laudable or shameful. And as to That I don't think there remains any Doubt.

(2) *Plutarch* judges here very rightly. Nothing ought to be

avoided but what is base, and may therefore justly be censur'd. But to be griev'd and dejected because we are blam'd, tho' unjustly, is great Weakness and Meanness of Spirit. However nothing is more common: But *Timoleon* had Reason to be griev'd at this Censure, since he had given but too just an Occasion for it.

(3) But if this Action of *Timoleon* was unjustifiable, he shew'd the Greatness and Bravery of his Soul by his open and avow'd Repentance for it; and I am persuaded *Socrates* wou'd have been of this Opinion.



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L. Cheron Inv.

Vol. 3. p. 129.

G. V. G. Guichet Sculp.



THE
L I F E
O F
P E L O P I D A S.



ATO the Elder one day hearing some Persons extoll a Man that had shewn a thoughtless Temerity in Battel, and ran headlong into the greatest Dangers without Consideration, said, *there was a great deal of difference between having an Esteem for Valour, and a Contempt for Life; (1) a Saying full of Wisdom and Truth.* 'Tis related that there was in King *Antigonus's* Army a Soldier of a very unhealthy Complexion, who however distinguish'd himself on all occasions by an uncommon Boldness and Intrepidity; which made the King take notice of him, and ask him the Cause of his pale and sickly Look; and learning from

(1) *Plutarch* very justly commends this Saying of *Cato* the Elder. There is no true Courage, no Courage that is truly praiseworthy, but That which arises

from a Love of Virtue; That, which proceeds from a Hatred or Contempt of Life is not Courage, but Despair.

him that it was owing to a secret Disease he had, gave strict Order to his Physicians to take all possible Care of him, and to spare neither Cost nor Pains for his Cure. In a short time this bold Fellow was cur'd ; after which he never appear'd so fond of Danger, nor daring in Battel ; insomuch that the King, being very much surpriz'd at such a Change, reproach'd him with it : but the Soldier, far from concealing the true Reason, said, *Sir, You only are the Cause that I am less bold and desperate than heretofore, by delivering me from that Misery which made Life a Burden to me.* And to this purpose is the Saying of a certain Sybarite concerning the Spartans, *that it was no great matter if They were forward to expose themselves in Battel, and seem'd to court Death, which was a Deliverance to Them from all the Hardships and Severities they suffer'd in Life.* But 'tis no wonder at all that (1) so effeminate a Race of People as the Sybarites, weaken'd, and, as it were, dissolv'd in Luxury and Pleasure, shou'd imagine that They who despis'd Death, did it not out of a Love of Virtue and Honour, but from a Weariness and Abhorrence of Life. But the Lacedaemonians were of a different Opinion ;

(1) The Luxury and Effeminacy of this People exceeded all Imagination. They us'd to boast, and seem'd to value themselves upon it, that they had never seen the Sun either rise or set. And that nothing might disturb their Sleep, the Exercise of all kind of Arts that were noisy, was forbidden, and even the Crowing of Cocks. Whenever they invited their Women to any solemn Feast, they always gave them a Year's Notice, that they might have Time to get ready their fine Cloaths, and other magnificent Ornaments. They offer'd Rewards

to such Cooks as invented the most elegant Dishes of Meat and highest Sauces. And when any Cook had invented any Thing of that kind that was excellent, it was by a Law expressly forbidden all other Cooks to make the same for the space of a Year, that so the Author might enjoy the Benefit of his Invention during that Time. A certain Sybarite seeing a Man digging, cry'd out, that it had given him a Rupture ; and Another to whom he told what he had seen, said, the very hearing it had given Him a Pain in his side. *Athen. lib. 12, cap. 3.*

They

PELOPIDAS.

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They thought that the whole Benefit and Advantage either of Life or Death consisted in living virtuously, and dying honourably, according to the old Epitaph.

*They dy'd, but not as lavish of their Blood,
Or thinking Death itself was simply good.
Both Life and Death the strictest Virtue try'd,
And as That call'd they gladly liv'd, or dy'd.*

For neither is an endeavour to avoid Death blameable, when Life may be desir'd without shame or dishonour; nor is there any Virtue in suffering Death with Constancy and Resolution, when it proceeds only from an Aversion to Life. Hence it is that *Homer* represents his bravest and stoutest Warriors going to Battel very well arm'd; and the *Grecian* Legislators punish'd any one that threw away his Shield, and yet excus'd the loss of a Sword or Spear; intimating thereby, that a Man's care in preserving himself is preferable to his hurting the Enemy, especially in a Governor of any Place, or a General. And indeed, to make use of *Iphicrates's* Comparison, if we compare the light-arm'd Infantry to the Hands, the Cavalry to the Feet, the main Body to the Breast, and the General to the Head, that General who suffers himself to be carried too far by his martial Ardor, and exposes himself to unnecessary Dangers, does not only risque and hazard his own Person, but the Lives of all Those, whose Safety depends on Him. And therefore *Callicratides*, tho' in other respects a great Man, did not answer the Augur well, who besought him to be cautious and regardful of his own Safety, because the Entrails of the Victim boded ill to him, and threaten'd his Life; *Sparta*, said he, *is not bound up in one Man*. 'Tis true indeed, that *Callicratides*, fighting under the Com-

mand of another Person, whether by Sea or Land, was no more than one Man; but being General of an Army, he seem'd to contain in himself the whole Strength and Power of all Those that were under his Command; so that He, on whose Life alone the Safety of so many Thousands depended, was no longer a single Person.

The Answer of old *Antigonus*, just before a great Sea-Fight near the Island of *Andros*, to One who told him that the Enemy was far superior to him in number of Ships, was much better; *For how many then*, said he, *dost thou reckon Me?* thereby laying a proper stress upon the Importance of a chief Commander, when that Dignity is accompanied with Experience and Valour, whose first and principal Care it ought to be, to save Him, who is the Safety and Security of all the Rest.

On this account we ought to admire what *Timotheus* said one day, when *Chares* was shewing the *Athenians* the Wounds he had receiv'd while he was their General, and his Shield pierc'd by a Spear; *As for my part*, said he, *when I besieg'd Samos, seeing an Arrow fall very near me, how much was I asham'd for having needlessly expos'd my self like a rash young Fellow, and further than became the Commander of so great an Army!* But where Success in a great measure depends on the General's exposing himself, in such a case he ought to play the Man, and push on at all Adventures without any Regard to his Person, or their Maxims, who say that a General ought to die of Age, or at least an old Man: But where the Advantage of his Victory will be of no great Importance, and the Consequence of his Fall will be utter Ruin, nobody wou'd desire him to perform the part of a common Soldier, which may be attended with the loss of the General.

This

This is what I judg'd proper to premise before the Lives of *Pelopidas* and *Marcellus*, who were Both great Men, but Both perish'd by their Rashness: For being very brave and daring, and having done Honour to their Country by their glorious Exploits, perform'd against very formidable Enemies, (the One having vanquish'd *Hannibal*, 'till then invincible; and the Other defeated the *Lacedæmonians*, that were Masters both at Sea and Land, in a pitch'd Battel,) they ventur'd too far, and inconsiderately threw away their Lives, when their Countries stood most in need of such valiant Men, and such brave Commanders. And therefore from the Similitude there was between them we have drawn their Parallel.

Pelopidas, the Son of *Hippoclus*, was descended, as *Epaminondas* likewise was, from one of the most illustrious Families in *Thebes*. He was brought up from his Infancy in Plenty and Opulence, and coming early to the possession of a great Estate, made it his business to relieve and assist such as were poor and indigent, but yet worthy and deserving; that he might make it appear he was truly the Master of, and not a Slave to, his Riches. For among Mankind, as *Aristotle* says, Some through Avarice make no use at all of their Wealth, while Others abuse it to Debauchery and Excess; These live perpetual Slaves to their Pleasures, the Others to Care and Business. All the *Thebans*, except *Epaminondas*, made use of *Pelopidas*'s Generosity, and thankfully receiv'd his Favours; but he cou'd never prevail with Him to accept his Presents, or partake of his Abundance; and finding it the easier Task, he condescended to stoop to His Poverty; and, after His Example, took a Pleasure in ordinary Apparel, a frugal Table, unwearied Labour, and in appearing plain and open in the highest Posts and Employments; like *Capaneus* in *Euripides*, who pos-

selling vast Wealth, was no way elated by it; so that he thought it a shame to spend more upon Himself, than the poorest *Theban*.

As for *Epaminondas*, Poverty was grown familiar to Him by being hereditary; but yet he made it more light and easy by Philosophy, and by chusing from the beginning a plain simple Life, that was all of a piece. But *Pelopidas* married into a good Family, and had a great many Children; yet, notwithstanding the encrease of his Expences, still forgetful of the main Chance, and bestowing all his Time upon the Publick, he at last very much impaired his Estate. And when some of his Friends one day represented it to him, and told him, that Money which he neglected was a very necessary Thing: Very necessary truly, reply'd he, (1) but 'tis for *Nicodemus* there; pointing to a Man of that Name, that was both lame and blind. *Epaminondas* and He were both born with the same Dispositions to all kind of Virtues, but *Pelopidas* took more pleasure in the Exercises of the Body, and *Epaminondas* in the Improvements of the Mind; so that they spent all their leisure time, the One in Hunting, and the *Palestra*, the Other in learned Conversation and the study of Philosophy. But of all the famous Actions for which they are so much celebrated, the judicious part of mankind reckon none so great and glorious as that strict

(1) This is a fine Saying, but it does not always hold true; it wou'd indeed, if All that have good Eyes and Limbs, and are capable of doing good Service, were employ'd, and were rewarded for their Services. But how many *Nicodemus's*. (that is, Blind and Lame.) do difficult and bad Times make? How many more are made so by the bad Choice of those that govern; and by the

partial and blind Recommendations that often influence 'em? A competent Estate therefore is not only necessary for the Blind and Lame, but for all such likewise on whom Fortune frowns, and whose Arms and Eyes she renders useless. For this Reason *Aristotle* and *Plato* maintain'd that Wealth was necessary to improve and illustrate Virtue.

Friendship

Friendship which they inviolably preserv'd through the whole course of their Lives, in all the high Posts they held, both military and civil. For whoever considers the Behaviour of *Aristides* and *Themistocles*, of *Cimon* and *Pericles*, of *Nicias* and *Alcibiades*, during their Administration of Affairs, and considers the Dissention, Jealousy, and Envy that always reign'd between 'em; and then reviews that Harmony and Affection, that Honour and Respect which *Pelopidas* and *Epaminondas* constantly had, and express'd for each other; must confess that these two great Men more truly deserved to be styl'd Companions and Brothers in Government and Command, than those Others, whose personal Enmity exceeded even That they bore the Enemies of their Country, making it the Business of their whole Lives to supplant and ruin one another. The true and only cause of this excellent Conduct was their Virtue, which kept them, in all their Actions, from aiming at Wealth and Glory, which fatal Contentions are always attended by Envy; but being both equally inflam'd with a divine Ardor to make their Country prosperous and happy by their Administration, they look'd upon each other's Success as their Own.

Most Authors indeed write that their Friendship did not begin 'till (1) the Battel of *Mantineia*, when the *Thebans* sent Succours to the *Lacedæmonians*, who were at that time their Friends and Allies. For being Both in that Battel, near one another, in the Infantry, and fighting against the *Arcadians*, that Wing of the *Lacedæmonians* in which they

(1) We must take care not to confound This with the famous Battel of *Mantineia* in which *Epaminondas* was slain. For That did not happen 'till after the Death of *Pelopidas*, and was fought against the *Lacedæmonians*; whereas in This that *Plutarch* mentions, the *Thebans* assisted the *Lacedæmonians*, who were then their Allies. It was before the Banishment of *Pelopidas*, about the third Year of the ninety eighth O'lympiad.

were, gave way and was broken; which *Pelopidas* and *Epaminondas* perceiving, they join'd their Shields, and keeping close together, bravely repuls'd all that attack'd 'em; 'till at last *Pelopidas*, after receiving seven large Wounds, fell upon a heap of Friends and Enemies that lay dead together. *Epaminondas*, tho' he believ'd him slain, advanc'd before him to defend his Body and Arms, and for a long time maintain'd his Ground against great numbers of the *Arcadians*, being resolv'd to die rather than desert his Companion, and leave him in the Enemy's Power; but being wounded in his Breast by a Spear, and in his Arm by a Sword, he was quite disabled and ready to fall, when *Agisipolis*, King of the *Spartans*, came from the other Wing to his Relief, and, beyond all Expectation, saved both their Lives.

After this Battel the *Lacedæmonians* carried it very fair towards the *Thebans*, in all outward appearance, as good Friends and Allies, but were in reality jealous of the growing Power and Grandeur of their City. But above all, (1) they had conceiv'd a particular and implacable Hatred against *Ismenius* and *Androclides's* Party, in which *Pelopidas* was an Associate, looking upon 'em as too popular, and too great Friends to Liberty. *Archias*, *Leontidas* and *Philip*, who were the Heads of the Party that oppos'd *Ismenius*, all Three very rich, immoderately ambitious, and violently bent upon an Oligarchical Government, having discover'd how the *Lacedæmonians* stood inclin'd, pro-

(1) There were at that time in *Thebes* two Demagogues or Leaders of the People, *Ismenius* and *Leontidas*, or as *Xenophon* calls him, *Leontsiades*, Both Enemies to each other, and Both had their Party. *Ismenius* declar'd for Liberty and a popular Government, and was for that Reason hated by the *Lacedæmonians*. The Interpreters have confounded this Piece of History, which is very well explain'd by *Xenophon* in his fifth Book concerning the *Grecian* Affairs.

pos'd to *Phæbidas*, (1) who was marching by *Thebes* with a Body of Troops, to seize the Castle call'd the *Cadmea*, to drive away All of the opposite Party, to make it subject to the *Lacedæmonians*, and to put the Government into the Hands of the Nobility.

(2) *Phæbidas* approv'd their Proposal, and during the Festival of *Ceres*, when the *Thebans* little expected any Act of Hostility, put his Design in Execution, and made himself Master of the Castle. *Ismenius* was taken and carried away (3) to *Lacedæmon*, where he was in a short time murder'd; but *Pelopidas*, *Pherenicus*, *Androclides*, and many more that fled, were sentenc'd to perpetual Banishment. As for *Epaminondas*, he remain'd at *Thebes* unmolested, and disregarded, as a Man whom

(1) 'Tis impossible, as I have elsewhere said, to translate these Lives of *Plutarch* without confirming and illustrating the Histories he mentions from original Authors. It was not in his passing backward and forward through *Bæotia*, as *Amiot* translates it, that *Phæbidas* executed this Enterprize. But the Fact is thus: The *Lacedæmonians* had order'd ten thousand Men to be rais'd, to march against *Olynthus*; while These were getting ready they sent *Eudamidas* before with about two thousand; who beg'd the *Lacedæmonians* to put the other eight thousand under the Command of his Brother *Phæbidas*, which they did; and in his March with those Troops to *Olynthus*, he pass'd by, and encamp'd near *Thebes*, where *Leontidas* made the foremention'd Proposal to him.

(2) For *Leontidas* represented to him, that nothing cou'd tend

more to his Glory than to make himself Master of *Thebes*, while his Brother was endeavouring to subdue *Olynthus*; that he wou'd thereby very much facilitate his Brother's Undertaking. For whereas the *Thebans* had at that time by a Decree expressly prohibited any Persons joining him against the *Olynthians*, as soon as ever he shou'd become Master of their Castle, they wou'd consent to send him whatever assistance he desir'd. *Xenophon* says, *Phæbidas* approv'd the Proposal, because he was desirous to perform some great Exploit, tho' at the hazard of his Life; and that he was by nature very rash and imprudent.

(3) By Order of *Leontidas*, one of the *Polemarchs*. He was not sent to *Lacedæmon*, but imprison'd in the Castle, whither Commissioners were sent to try him; three from *Sparta*, and one from every other City.

Philosophy had made unactive and disinclin'd to attempt, and whom Poverty render'd unable to prosecute any great Undertaking.

When an Account was brought to *Lacedæmon* of what *Phæbidas* had done, he was depriv'd of his Command, and fin'd a hundred thousand Drachmas; but they still kept Possession of the *Cadmea*, and continued a Garrison in it.

(1) All the other Parts of Greece were greatly surpriz'd at this ridiculous Inconsistency, to authorize and confirm an Action, and yet at the same time punish the Actor. The *Thebans* having thus lost their ancient Form of Government, and being enslav'd by *Archias* and *Leontidas*, saw no means

(1) *Polybius* has, beyond every Body else, painted this foul unaccountable Action in its true Colours. Speaking of the *Etolians* who had chosen *Scopas* for their Prætor, He who had been the Cause of all the Injuries they had done the *Achaians* without declaring War against them, he says l. iv. p. 296. 'To commit all Acts of Hostility without first publicly declaring War, and then instead of punishing the Authors of it, to honour 'em and chuse 'em Generals, was a Procedure that contain'd in it every thing that was base and dishonourable; it was to imitate what the *Lacedæmonians* did, after *Phæbidas* had, contrary to all Faith and Treaties, seiz'd the *Cadmea*. They punish'd the Author of that Treachery, but did not withdraw their Garrison; as if that Punishment cou'd wipe out the Injustice of the Action, and give full satisfaction to the *Thebans*. The same *Lacedæmonians*, in *Antalcidas's* Peace, proclaim'd publicly that they wou'd restore all the Cities to their Liberties, and yet did not recall out of any of 'em the Governors they had placed there. After they had plunder'd the *Mantineans*, and destroy'd their City, they said, they had done them no Injury at all; because instead of one City only which they had before, they were the Occasion of their living in Many.' And then he adds, 'Tis the height of Madness join'd to the most consummate Wickedness, to pretend, that a Man needs only shut his own Eyes to hinder others from seeing him. Both those People by sticking to this dangerous Maxim of Policy, brought upon themselves very great Calamities. They who wou'd act wisely, and with Success, ought never to be influenc'd by it either in publick or private Affairs'. I have enlarg'd the more upon this Place, because these Remarks may happen to be read by those Men on whose Minds 'tis of great Consequence to imprint these Truths, that are confirm'd by long and constant Experience.

nor hopes of being freed from a Tyranny, which was supported by the *Lacedæmonians*, nor a possibility of breaking the Yoke, but by such a Power as was sufficient to beat them from their Command both by Sea and Land.

In the mean time, *Leontidas*, being inform'd that the Exiles had retir'd to *Athens*, where they were kindly receiv'd by the People, and honour'd by all good Men, form'd secret Designs against their Lives, by means of certain unknown Bravos whom he sent thither. *Androclides* fell by their Hands, but all the rest escap'd.

At the same time the *Athenians* receiv'd Letters from *Sparta*, warning them neither to receive nor cherish the Exiles, but expell them as Persons who had been declar'd common Enemies to Greece by all the Allies. But the *Athenians*, besides their natural Inclination to Humanity, thought themselves obliged to make a grateful acknowledgment and return to the *Thebans*, who had very much assisted them in restoring their Democracy, and publickly enacted, that if any *Athenian* shou'd march armed against the Tyrants through *Boetia*, it shou'd be done without any notice taken of it, or stop put to it, by any *Boetian* whatever; the *Athenians*, I say, moved by these Considerations, attempted nothing at all against the *Thebans*.

Pelopidas, tho' very young at that time, privately excited each single Exile, and often told them at their Meetings, that it was both dishonourable and impious to neglect their enslaved and ingarrison'd Country, and lazily contented with their own lives and safety depend on the Decrees of the *Athenians*, and fawn for fear on every smooth-tongued Orator, that knows how to cajole the People. No: they must venture at All, taking *Thrasibulus* his Courage for Example; for as He advanced from Thebes, and broke the Power of the Tyrants in Athens, so shou'd
They

They march from Athens, and free Thebes. When he had persuaded them by this Discourse, they sent secretly to *Thebes*, to acquaint their Friends there with their Designs, which were highly approv'd of, and *Charon* a Person of the greatest Quality in the City offer'd his House for their Reception. *Philidas* had found means to be made Secretary to *Archias* and *Philip*, who were then Captains of the Militia; and as for *Epaminondas*, (1) he had taken pains all along to inspire the Youth with a daring Courage and Magnanimity: For at their Exercises he always advis'd them to challenge and wrestle with the *Spartans*, and when he saw them pleas'd and elated for having thrown, and gotten the better of 'em, he told them, *that they ought rather to be asham'd to be such Cowards, as to be enslav'd to Those, whom in strength they so much excelled.*

The Day for Action being set, it was agreed upon by the Exiles that *Pherenicus* with the rest shou'd stay at *Thriasum*, and some few of the younger Men try the first Danger by endeavouring to get into the City, and if they were surpris'd by their Enemies the Others shou'd take care to provide for their Families. *Pelopidas* was the first that offer'd himself for this Undertaking, and after him *Melon*, *Damocles* and *Theopompus*; all of 'em Persons of the best Families in *Thebes*, intimate and faithful Friends in all things else, but Rivals in Honour and Glory. They were in all twelve, and having taken Leave of their Compa-

(1) This is all the Part *Plutarch* makes *Epaminondas* act in this Enterprize. He was privy to it, but wou'd not be concern'd in it, because, he said, he wou'd not dip his Hands in the Blood of his Fellow-Citizens; and he knew very well they wou'd not be re-

strain'd within Bounds, and that the Tyrants wou'd not be the only Persons that wou'd perish in it. *Plutarch* gives a fuller Account of This in his Discourse concerning the familiar Spirit of *Serates*.

nions that stay'd behind at *Tbriasum*, and dispatch'd a Messenger to advertize *Charon* of their coming, they set forward, meanly clad, and carrying with 'em Hounds and hunting Poles; that whoever met them on the Road might suspect nothing at all, but take 'em for Hunters stragling about in search or pursuit of their Game.

When their Messenger arriv'd at *Thebes*, and had given *Charon* an account of their being upon the Road, the approach of Danger did not make him change his Mind; but like a Man of Probity and Honour, he stood to his Promise, and made Preparations to receive 'em.

Among Those who were privy to this Design, there was one *Hipposthenides*, who was no ill Man, but lov'd his Country, and wou'd with all his Heart have done the Exiles any manner of Service; but he wanted that Fortitude and Firmness of Resolution which the present Exigency and the nature of such an Affair requir'd. This Man (1) reflecting on the Greatness of the danger in which they were going to embark, and not able to comprehend how by the weak assistance of a few indigent Exiles they shou'd be strong enough to shake the *Spartan* Government, and free themselves from that Power, grew giddy as it were with the Reflection; and unable to clear up all those Difficulties and Obstacles that presented themselves in crowds to his Imagination, went privately to his own House, and dispatch'd a Friend to *Melon* and *Pelopidas*, desiring them to defer their Enterprize for the present, to return to *Athens*, and wait there 'till a more favourable opportunity shou'd offer.

(1) He consider'd, that tho' the associated Exiles shou'd be able to kill the Tyrants, yet they were too few to take the Garrison, which consisted of fifteen hundred Men; and that two very discreet Officers were to command the Guard that very Night; and that *Archias* had order'd the *Thespian* Soldiers to be under Arms that Day.

This

This Messenger's Name was *Clidon*, who going home in all haste, and bringing his Horse out of the Stable, commanded his Wife to bring him the Bridle; but she being at a loss, and not knowing where to find it, said, she had lent it to a Neighbour: *Clidon* upon this fell into a Passion, from whence they soon proceeded to reproachful Language, and after that to direful Imprecations, his Wife cursing him bitterly, and praying that his Journey might prove fatal to Himself, and Those that sent him. *Clidon's* Passion transported him so far, that he spent most of the day in this squabble, and looking upon what had happen'd as an ill Omen laid aside all thoughts of his Journey, and (1) went elsewhere. So near were these great and glorious Designs of miscarrying in the very Birth. But *Pelopidas* and his Associates dressing themselves like Peasants, divided, and whilst it was yet day enter'd at several Quarters of the City; besides, (2) it was the beginning of Winter, and the Snow fell, which contributed much to their Concealment, because most of the Citizens kept within Doors to avoid the Inclemency of the Weather. But They that were in the Secret receiv'd 'em as they came, and conducted 'em forthwith to *Charon's* House; all of 'em together, Exiles and Others, making up forty eight in number.

As for the Tyrants, their Affairs stood thus; *Philidas*, their Secretary, was, as I said before, an

(1) He went to *Hipposthenides's* House, but not finding him at home, he went from thence to the House of one of the Accomplices, where he guess'd he shou'd find him, to let him know how the matter stood, that so he might send some other Messenger in his stead.

(2) This is the meaning of

those Words of *Plutarch*, ἀρχομένην τρέπεται τῇ ἀέρι, and not that it began to be bad Weather. The Spartans seiz'd on the Castle about the middle of Summer, in the third Year of the ninety ninth Olympiad, and it was taken from 'em in the Beginning of Winter, in the first Year of the hundredth Olympiad.

Accomplice,

PELOPIDAS.

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Accomplice, privy to the whole Affair, and very forward to promote it. He had some time before promis'd *Archias* and his Friends an Entertainment at his House that very Day, and to provide some of the finest Ladies of Pleasure in the Town to give them the Meeting. This he did with a view, that (1) when they were enfeebled by Lewdness and Excess, they might fall a more easy Sacrifice to Those who had conspir'd, by their Fall, the deliverance of their Country.

While they were at Table, beginning to relish their Wine, and growing very chearful, a Rumour was spread among 'em, no body knew how, which, tho' not false, seem'd uncertain, and confirm'd by no Circumstance, that the Exiles lay somewhere conceal'd in the City. *Philidas* did what he cou'd to divert the Discourse; but *Archias* sent an Officer to *Charon* to command his immediate Attendance. By this time it was growing dark, so that *Pelopidas* and his Friends were preparing for Action, having their Armour on already, and their Swords girt: when on a sudden a great knocking was heard at the Door, whereupon one stepping forth to know the meaning of it, and learning from the Officer that he was come with an Order to carry *Charon* to *Archias*, he return'd in great Haste and Confusion, to give them an account of this terrible News. Every one at first believ'd that the whole Plot was discover'd, and that they shou'd be all destroy'd, without being able to perform any Exploit, worthy Men of their undaunted Bravery and Resolution. However

(1) How cou'd This be, when he brought no body to 'em, but some of the Conspirators dress'd in Womens Cloaths? To reconcile This, it must be suppos'd that *Philidas* did really design to have had Women for 'em, but being prevented either through want of Time, or some other means, he caus'd some of the Conspirators to be dress'd in Womens Cloaths.

they

they were unanimous in their Opinion that *Charon* shou'd obey the Order, and appear boldly before the Tyrants, as no way terrify'd or conscious of any Guilt.

Charon was a resolute brave Man, unmov'd at any Danger that threaten'd Himself, but full of Concern for the Safety of his Friends; and apprehending that the World might censure him, and suspect him of Treachery in case so many valiant Citizens as he had receiv'd into his House shou'd happen to miscarry, when he was just ready to depart, he went into the Womens Apartment, and brought out his only Son, who was a Youth indeed, but for Beauty and Strength superior to any of his Age, and with these Words deliver'd him to *Pelopidas*, *If you find Me a Traytor use this Boy as an Enemy, and be cruel in the Execution.*

This Concernment, and Affection of *Charon*, drew Tears from Many; but extremely troubled All, that he shou'd think any one among 'em cou'd be guilty of such Baseness or Cowardice at the approach of Danger, as either to suspect or blame his Conduct; and most earnestly besought him not to leave his Son with Them, but to remove him somewhere to a place of Safety; that so he might one day revenge his Friends and Country, if he was so happy as to escape the Tyrants Fury. But *Charon* absolutely refus'd to remove him, saying, (1) *What Life, what Safety can be more honourable, than to die bravely with his Father, and such generous Friends and Companions?* Then imploring the Protection of the Gods, and saluting, and encouraging them All, he left them, and departed.

(1) After That he address'd himself to his Son; and *Plutarch*, in the Treatise I mention'd before, relates the very Words, which are very well worth our reading.

On the Way, as he went along, he endeavour'd to recover himself, and so to compose his Countenance and Voice, that he might not appear to be, what he really was. When he was come to the Door of the House where the Entertainment was given, *Archias* and *Philidas* went out to him, and said, *What Persons are these, Charon, that are lately come to Town, as we are inform'd, and are conceal'd and countenanc'd by some of our Citizens?* *Charon* was at first in a little Disorder, but recovering himself quickly, he ask'd them, *who these Persons, they spoke of, were, and by whom harbour'd;* and perceiving by *Archias's* Answer that he had no certain or particular knowledge of the Matter, concluded, that his Information cou'd not come from any Body that was privy to the Design, and therefore said to 'em, *'Tis possible this may be only a false Alarm, contriv'd on purpose to interrupt your Mirth; however I'll make the best enquiry I can, and be upon my Guard; for nothing of this kind ought to be neglected.* *Philidas* commended his Prudence; and bringing *Archias* back to the Company, drank him up to a high Pitch; and prolonged the Entertainment, by keeping 'em still in Expectation of seeing the Ladies.

Charon, at his return home, finding his Friends not in Expectation of Safety and Success, but as Men resolv'd, after being reveng'd on their Enemies, to die with Firmness and Intrepidity, told *Pelopidas* the plain Truth, but (1) conceal'd it from the rest, inventing several Things, which, he pretended, *Archias* had discours'd him about.

This Storm was scarce blown over before Fortune rais'd Another; for almost at the very same

(1) Why this *Finesse*? There Spirit, says, that *Charon* came back to was no occasion at all for it. And 'em with a pleasant Countenance, so *Plutarch* Himself, in his Treatise and told them All, what *Archias* concerning *Socrates's* Familiar had said to him.

time arriv'd an Express, sent from *Archias* the High Priest of *Athens* to his Name-sake *Archias* of *Thebes*, who was his Friend and Guest: The Letters he brought did not contain an uncertain Rumour, founded only on Surmises and Suspensions, but, as appear'd afterwards, a full and particular Account of the whole Conspiracy in all its Parts and Circumstances. When the Courier was brought to *Archias*, who was by this time pretty well warm'd with Liquor, as he deliver'd his Letters to him, he said, *Sir, the Person that wrote these Letters conjures You to read 'em forthwith, for they contain Business of great Importance.* But *Archias* taking the Letters, said, smiling, *Business to-morrow*; and laying them down by him, resum'd his former Conversation with *Philidas*.

Those Words, *Business to-morrow*, grew into a Proverb, and continue so to this Day among the Greeks.

Now when every thing was ripe for Action, the Conspirators issued out, and divided themselves into two Bodies; One under the Command of *Pelopidas* and *Damocles* march'd against (1) *Leontidas* and *Hypates*, who were Neighbours; and the Other, led by *Charon* and *Melen*, went to attack *Archias* and *Philip*. These put Womens Cloaths over their Armour, and Pine and Poplar about their Heads to shade their Faces. As soon as they appear'd at the Door where the Guests were, they all began to huzza, and clap aloud for Joy, believing 'em to be the Women they had so long expected. But when the Conspirators had look'd round the Room, and diligently observ'd the whole Company, they drew their Swords, and

(1) These did not sup with *Philidas*, because *Archias* expecting to meet one of the greatest Ladies in the City there, had no mind that *Leontidas* shou'd be at the Entertainment; and so *Philidas* was oblig'd not to invite him.

made at *Archieas* and *Philip* across the Table, which soon discover'd who they were. *Philidas* prevail'd with a few of his Guests to sit still, promising them Security from all harm; but the rest that rose up to defend themselves, and assist their Chiefs, being disorder'd with Wine, were easily dispatch'd.

But *Pelopidas* and his Party met with a more difficult Task; for They were oblig'd to encounter a sober and valiant Man. When they came to his House, they found the Doors shut, he being already gone to Bed; there they knock'd a long time before any Body answer'd; but at last a Servant that heard them, came down to open the Door; but he had scarce unbolted, and not half open'd it, when rushing All together, they forc'd it wide open, overturn'd the Man, and ran as fast as they cou'd up Stairs to *Leontidas's* Chamber. *Leontidas* hearing the Noise, suspected the matter, and leaping from his Bed seiz'd his Sword; but forgot to put out his Lights, which, had he done, might have been the Occasion of their falling foul on one another in the Dark, and so He himself might have escap'd. But tho' he had the disadvantage of being easily seen by reason of the Light, he receiv'd them at his Chamber Door, and stabb'd *Cephisodorus*, who was the first Man that attempted to enter. The next that he encounter'd was *Pelopidas*; but the Passage being narrow, and *Cephisodorus's* dead Body lying in the way, the Dispute was long and difficult; however at last *Pelopidas* overpower'd him, and kill'd him. From thence they went all together to find out *Hypates*, and got into his House after the very same manner: But He, alarm'd at the Noise, made his Escape into a Neighbour's House, whither they closely follow'd and kill'd him.

Having happily finish'd this great Affair, they all march'd to join *Melon*, and sent to hasten the Exiles they had left in *Attica*, proclaiming Liberty to all the *Thebans*. They likewise took down the Spoils that hung over the Portico's, and breaking open the Gunsmiths and Sword-Cutlers Shops, arm'd all Those that came to their Assistance: *Epaminondas* and *Gorgidas* having gather'd together and arm'd a large Body of young Men, and some old ones of the best sort, came in, and join'd them.

The whole City was by this time fill'd with Terror and Confusion, the Houses full of Lights, and the Streets of People running to and fro: Yet they did not gather together in a Body, but being amaz'd at what had happen'd, and knowing nothing at all, for a certainty, waited impatiently for the Day. Therefore the *Spartan* Officers were undoubtedly guilty of a great Oversight, for that they did not fall upon 'em while this Confusion lasted; for the Garrison at that time consisted of fifteen hundred Men, besides which many of the People were still on their side; but being in a kind of Consternation at the Outcries, numerous Lights, and confus'd hurry of the People, they did not move at all, but contented themselves with preserving the Castle.

As soon as Day appear'd the Exiles from *Attica* came in armed, and there was a general Assembly of the People. *Epaminondas* and *Gorgidas* brought forth *Pelopidas* and his Party, encompassed by the Priests, carrying Garlands in their Hands, and exhorting the People to fight for their Gods and their Country. The whole Assembly, excited at this Appearance, rose up, and with Shouts and Acclamations receiv'd the Men as their Benefactors and Deliverers. Then *Pelopidas* being appointed Governor of *Bæotia*, together with *Melon* and
Charon,

Charon, block'd up, and attack'd the Castle, thinking it of great Importance to drive out the *Lacedæmonians*, and get Possession of it, before any Succours cou'd arrive from *Sparta*: and indeed (1) he was beforehand with them but a very little while; for the *Lacedæmonians* had scarce surrender'd the Place, and were, according to the Capitulation, returning home, when they met *Cleombrotus* at *Megara*, marching towards *Thebes* with a powerful Army. The *Spartans* call'd the three chief Commanders, who sign'd that Capitulation, to an Account; *Hermippides* and *Arcissus* were executed for it, and *Dysaoridas* the Third was fin'd so severely, that being unable to pay it, he was forc'd to fly his Country.

This Action being so like That of *Thrasylbulus*, whether we consider the Courage of the Actors, or the Difficulties that were to be surmounted, and the Success that attended it, was for that Reason call'd (2) its Sister by the *Greeks*. For it wou'd be

(1) *Plutarch*, in this Place, seems to straiten his Narrative a little too much. How was it possible for the Conspirators with the Assistance only of a few Citizens that got together, and the Exiles from *Attica*, to retake so strong a Place as that Castle; where there were fifteen hundred *Lacedæmonians* in Garrison, besides above three thousand more, Citizens and Others, that had fled to them, and declar'd on their side? He ought to have mention'd the five thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, which the *Athenians* sent very early the next Morning after, to *Pelopidas's* Assistance, under the Command of *Demophon*, as well as the seve-

ral Bodies of Troops that came from all the Cities of *Boeotia*, all which together made up an Army of twelve thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse. This was the Army that besieg'd the Castle, which held out several Days, and surrender'd at last only for want of Provisions. See *Xenoph.* l. 5. of the *Grecian History*, and *Diodor. Sicul.* l. xv.

(2) Modern History can furnish us with another Action executed in the last Century, which may very justly be compar'd with This of *Pelopidas*. I mean That of the Prince of *Monaco*. To prove what I say, I shall make a short Extract of the principal Occurrences of the One, and the Other,

be difficult to give another Instance of Persons of themselves weak and few in Number, who by their bold, daring, and personal Bravery, overcame

that the Reader may be the better able to judge of the perfect Resemblance that is between them. *Pelopidas* with Eleven more conveys himself into *Thebes*, with a purpose to deliver her out of the Power of the *Lacedaemonians*, who had placed a Garrison in her Citadel. He and his Associates are disguis'd like Peasants. *Philidas*, who was in the Conspiracy, invites the chief Officers of *Lacedaemon* to a magnificent Supper. In the instant of Execution it is whisper'd about that there was a Plot afoot; One of those very Officers receives a Letter containing a distinct Information of it, which however he delays reading till the next Morning. *Pelopidas* being join'd by thirty six of his Fellow-Citizens divides his Troop into two Bands, One of which goes to attack Those who were then at Supper, whilst the Other marches against two other of the *Spartan* Officers; and the whole Design is conducted with so much Courage and Bravery, that *Thebes* is restor'd to her Liberty. The Prince of *Monaco* in like manner undertakes to deliver his City out of the Hands of the *Spaniards*, who had made themselves Masters of it. The Plot takes Wind. The Governor for the *Spaniards* is advertised of the very Day in which it was to be executed, but gives no Credit to the Information; however he promises to watch the Prince very narrowly, and secure both Him, and his Son, upon the least Suspicion of his

Conduct. This obliges the Prince to hasten the Execution of his Design, that he may be beforehand with the Governor. He pretends to take offence at some rebellious Subjects that were in two of his Towns; he has them seiz'd and committed, bound hand and foot, to his Prisons in *Monaco*, to the Number of Thirty of the most resolute and determin'd, who were in the design, and whom he had pick'd out for that Purpose. The Governor is so far from taking any Umbrage at This, that at the Prince's Request he sends even a Party of his Garrison to live at Discretion in the Houses of those pretended Criminals. The Prince invites the *Spanish* Officers to Supper, and has a magnificent Repast prepared for them; at the same time he gives orders that the Soldiers be well entertain'd up and down in the City. Whilst the *Spaniards* are thinking of nothing else but how to make much of themselves, and by that time every Man had his Dose, the Prince releases the thirty Conspirators out of the several Prisons where they had lain confin'd, and provides them with Arms. These are join'd by several of the most loyal and enterprising of the Citizens, together with Some of his own Domesticks, and the whole Party is divided into three Bands. He puts his Son at the Head of the First, consisting of thirty Men; the Second, of Twenty, is commanded by *Ferom Rei*, a brave and experienced Officer; and the Third, being

so strong a Power and Opposition, or procur'd greater Blessings to their Country : But this Action was render'd still more glorious and remarkable by that change of Affairs which follow'd upon it. For that War, which humbled the Pride of *Sparta*, and spoil'd 'em of their Empire both by Sea and Land, was the effect of that Night's Work, when *Pelopidas*, without taking Castle, Fortification, or Town, but only making the twelfth Man that enter'd a private House, loosen'd and broke to pieces (if we may express Truth by a Metaphor) the Chains of the *Spartan* Government, till then thought firm and indissoluble.

Not long after This the *Lacedemonians* enter'd *Bœotia* with a powerful Army, which so terrify'd the *Athenians*, that they renounc'd all Treaties and Alliances with the *Thebans*, and imprison'd All that continued in their Interest ; Some they put to Death, Others they banish'd, and Those that were the richest they fin'd severely. Thus the Affairs of *Thebes*, without either Friend or Ally, seem'd at that time to be in a very desperate Condition. But *Pelopidas* and *Gorgidas* being then Governours of *Bœotia*, consulted together how to breed a Quarrel between the *Athenians* and *Spartans* ; and This

being fifty in Number, he lead Himself, all of them determin'd to free their Country, or dye in the Attempt. The young Prince, full of Heat and Courage, attacks one Party of the Guards, and disarms them, *Ferom Rei* has the same Success upon Another, whilst the Prince himself falls on the main Body in the Citadel. There the Dispute was more obstinate, and dangerous ; he was twice repuls'd, but at the third Charge he carry'd his Point, and oblig'd the Governor to surrender. In this manner he forced the *Spaniards*

out of *Monaco*, and flung himself into the Protection of *France*. If we examine into all the Circumstances of these two Actions, We shall find them so like as to be perswaded that the Prince of *Monaco* copy'd from *Pelopidas*, and form'd his Designs upon his Plan. I was the more desirous to draw out this Parallel, to make it appear that *Plutarch* is able to suggest Hints for Enterprizes, and Performances, equal to Those which were the Glory of the most renown'd Heroes of Antiquity.

was their Contrivance: There was a certain Spartan nam'd *Sphodrias*, who was in reality a Man of Courage, but of no sound Judgment, and therefore easily drawn into any Projects, how airy soever, if they fell in with his Ambition. This Man had been left at *Thespia* with a Body of Troops to receive and protect such *Bæotians* as shou'd desert the Interest of their Country and go over to the Spartans. To him (1) *Pelopidas* and *Gorgidas* sent Money secretly by a Merchant that was his Friend, and at the same time such Advice as was most proper to flatter his Vanity, and wou'd be more persuasive than Money, viz. *That it more became a Man of his Worth to enter on some noble Enterprize, and making a sudden Incurſion on the unprovided Athenians surprize the Piræum; that nothing cou'd be so agreeable to the Spartans, as to be Masters of Athens; and that the Thebans hating the Athenians, as they now did, looking upon them as Traytors and false Brethren, wou'd be sure to give them no manner of Assistance.*

Persuaded by these fine Words, *Sphodrias* march'd with his Army by Night, and enter'd *Attica* in a hostile manner; but by that time he was advanc'd as far as *Eleufina*, (2) his Soldiers Hearts began to fail, and his Design was discover'd; whereupon he thought fit to return to *Theſpia*, after having, by this unadvis'd Action, (3) brought upon the *Lacedæmonians*

(1) This is more probable than what *Diodorus Siculus* writes, l. xv. that *Cleombrotus*, without any Order from the *Ephori*, persuaded *Sphodrias* to surprize the *Piræum*.

(2) They hop'd to have reach'd the *Piræum* before Morning, but were surpriz'd, when the Day appear'd, to find themselves at *Eleufina*; and perceiving that they

were discover'd, they began to repent their Undertaking, and so return'd; pillaging and carrying off with them several Flocks and Herds of Cattle.

(3) The *Lacedæmonians* saw plainly what wou'd be the Consequence of this Attempt. The *Ephori* recall'd *Sphodrias*, and proceeded against him; but *Agesslaus*, being influenc'd by his So, who

Lacedæmonians a long and dangerous War: For immediately upon This, the *Athenians* courted a new Alliance with the *Thebans*, and assisted them with all their Power, and fitting out a large Squadron sail'd to several Places, receiving and engaging all the *Greeks* that were inclin'd to shake off the *Spartan* Yoke.

In the mean time, the *Thebans* having frequent Skirmishes with the *Spartans* in *Bæotia*, and fighting some Battels (not great indeed, but fit to train them up, and instruct them) their Minds were raised, and their Bodies inured to Labour, and they got both Experience and Courage by those frequent Encounters. Insomuch that *Antalcides* is reported to have said very pertinently to *Agefilaus*, when he was brought home wounded from *Bæotia*, *You are now paid, Sir, for the Apprenticeship you have made the Thebans serve, teaching them the Art of War against their Wills.* Tho' to speak properly, *Agefilaus* was not their Master, but Those wise Commanders who led 'em with Prudence to Battle, and when they saw a fit opportunity, let 'em loose, like stanch Hounds, upon the Enemy; and when they had tasted the Sweets of Victory, by which their Appetites were sharpen'd, took 'em off again, pleas'd with their Eagerness and Spirit: But of all those Leaders *Pelopidas* deserves most Honour on this account, for from the time of his being first chosen Captain-General, 'till his Death, he was never one Year out of Employment, but was constantly either Captain of the Sacred Band, or Governor of *Bæotia*. And those were the times, in which the *Spartans* were defeated and entirely routed at *Platea* and *Thespia*; where *Phæbidas*, that had surpriz'd the *Cadmea*, was kill'd; and at

was in Love with the Son of | related by *Xenophon* in his fourth
Sphodrias, sav'd him. This Piece | Book.
 of History is very curious, as it is

Tenagra,

Tenagra, (1) where *Pelopidas* slew their chief Commander, whose Name was *Panthoides*, with his own Hand. But this series of Success, tho' it serv'd to animate and encourage the Victors, did not quite dispirit and dishearten the Vanquish'd: For there was no regular fighting or pitch'd Battel, but now and then a seasonable Incurfion made as it were by way of Piquering, sometimes pursuing, and sometimes retreating, in which the *Thebans* had the Advantage. But the Battel of *Tegyra*, which brought on that of *Leuctra*, rais'd *Pelopidas's* Reputation very high; where none of the other Commanders had any pretence to share with him in the Honour of the day, nor the Enemy the least shew of Victory.

He kept a strict Eye over the City of *Orchomenum*, which had sided with the *Spartans*, and taken two Companies of Foot for its Guard, and at length found an Opportunity to make himself Master of it. For having one day receiv'd Intelligence that the Garrison was march'd out to make an Incurfion into *Locris*, he hasten'd thither with his Forces, consisting of the Sacred Battalion, and some Horse, hoping to find the Place defenceless; but when he came near the City, understanding that a Body of Troops were on their march from *Sparta* to reinforce the Garrison, he retreated with his little Army through *Tegyra* along the sides of the Mountains, which was the only Way he cou'd possibly pass; for all the flat Country was (2) overflow'd by the River *Melas*, which as soon as it

(1) I take this to be the same Battel that *Xenophon* mentions in his fourth Book; but the name of the General that was slain at that time he calls *Alypetus*. Perhaps *Panthoides* is not his proper name, but the Patronymick, or name of

his Family, the Son of *Panthous*. (2) What *Plutarch* says here agrees exactly with what *Strabo* writes in his ninth Book. This River was lost in his time, either in the Hollows or Marshes near

Haliartus.

rises, divides it self into Marshes, and navigable Pools, making all the lower Roads impassable.

A little below these Marshes stands the Temple of *Apollo Tegyus*, whose Oracle (1) has not been long silent; it was indeed in its highest Credit during the Wars with the *Medes*, when *Echecratis* was High Priest. Here they report That God was born. The neighbouring Mountain is call'd *Delos*; and at the Foot of it the River *Melas* comes again into a Channel. Behind the Temple rise two copious Springs, admir'd for the sweetness and coolness of the Water: One of 'em is still call'd the *Palm*, the Other the *Olive*; as if *Latona* had not been deliver'd between two Trees, but Fountains. Near to this Place is Mount *Ptoom*, where they say She was affrighted at the appearance of a furious wild Boar. The Stories of *Python* and *Tityus* that happen'd there, seem to favour Their Opinion who make it the Place where *Apollo* was born. I omit a thousand other fabulous stories, made use of to support this Opinion; since ancient Tradition does not rank Him in the number of those Gods that were born mortal, and having been once Men, and divested themselves of this corrupt and mortal Nature were transform'd into Gods, as

(1) This is the true Meaning of this Passage, and not as it has been commonly translated, *quod non admodum diu floruit*, and did not flourish long. For 'tis not true, that this Oracle continued no longer than the *Medes* Wars; since *Plutarch* himself assures us, in his Treatise about the ceasing of Oracles, that it not only continued in the time of the *Peloponnesian* War, but long after it. What *Plutarch* says in that Discourse

helps very much to illustrate this Passage. This may be confirm'd from the Proofs that have been given, that it was at the Coming of the *Messias* that the Oracles of the false Gods ceas'd. Not but that Some of 'em continued after that happy *Epocha*; but those were the last efforts of the Heathen Priests Impostures; who, to preserve their Credit and Reputation with the People, were still forc'd to impose on their Credulity.

The LIFE of

Hercules and *Bacchus*; but (1) he is One of the Eternal and Unbegotten, if we may credit those ancient Sages who have treated of the Nature of the Gods. But to resume the thread of our Discourse. As the *Thebans* return'd from *Orchomenum*, by *Tegyra*, the *Spartans* marching at the same time from *Locris*, met 'em upon the Road.

As soon as they had passed the Straits, and were in View, One ran in all haste to *Pelopidas*, and told him, *We are fallen into the Enemy's Hands: And why*, said he, *not They into Ours?* At the same time he commanded his Horse that were in the Rear, to advance and begin the Attack. His Foot, which were no more than three hundred Men, he drew into a close Body, not doubting but that, wherever they press'd, they wou'd break through the Enemy, tho' superior in Number. The *Spartans* had divided their Infantry into two Battalions; Each consisted, as *Ephorus* reports, of five hundred, *Callisthenes* says Seven, but *Polybius* and Others nine hundred. *Gorgoleon* and *Theopompus* their Generals, relying on the Valour of their Troops, led them on to the Charge with great Bravery. The Shock began where the Commanders fought in Person on both sides, and was very sharp and furious; the *Spartan* Generals, who press'd hard upon *Pelopidas*, fell first, and All that were near them were either kill'd, or put to Flight: Thereupon the whole Army was so terrify'd, that they open'd a Lane for the *Thebans*, through which they might have pass'd safely, and continued their March, if they had pleas'd; but *Pelopidas* disdain'd to accept

(1) This is a very remarkable Passage. The ancient Sages, as *Pythagoras*, *Plato* and Others, believ'd that God had Children that were Eternal, Unbegotten, and like himself. And this Notion descended to them from ancient Tradition, which made mention of a Son of God, co-eternal with the Father, which they had corrupted by their vain and idle Fancies.

of this Opportunity to make his Escape, march'd against Those who still kept their Ground, and made such a terrible Slaughter among them, that They who remain'd, being struck with Terror, were entirely routed, and ran away in great Confusion. The *Thebans* did not pursue them very far, for fear of the *Orchomenians*, who were near the Place of Battel, and of the Reinforcement from *Lacedæmon*, which was arriv'd at *Tegyra*. They satisfied themselves with breaking the Enemy, and making an honourable Retreat, which was worth a Victory, since it was made through the very midst of a dispers'd and defeated Army.

After they had erected a Trophy, and gather'd the Spoils of the Slain, they return'd home full of Spirit, and greatly elated at their Success: For in all their former Wars, whether against *Greeks* or *Barbarians*, the *Spartans* were never before beaten by a smaller Number than their Own, nor when their Numbers were equal, and thus their Courage seem'd irresistible; their Fame wounded their Enemies before the Battel, and made them afraid to venture an Engagement, tho' on equal Terms.

This Battel first taught the *Greeks* that 'tis neither *Eurotas*, nor the Country that lies between *Babyce* and *Cnacion*, breeds martial Spirits and bold Warriors, but that Courage and Bravery are the Produce of all Countries, (1) where the Youth are asham'd of what is base, and daring in a good Cause, and where they fear the least Disgrace more than the greatest Danger; These are the Men that are most terrible to their Enemies.

Gorgidas, as Some report, first form'd the *Sacred Band*, consisting of three hundred select Men, to

(1) For Courage consists only in knowing how to shun what is bad, and to pursue that which is good: And therefore Courage is the Result of Education, and in Truth an acquir'd Science, as *Plato* has admirably prov'd.

whom

whom (being a Guard for the Castle) the City allow'd Provision, and all things necessary for exercising them; and they were call'd the *City-Band*, for Castles, in those Days, were call'd Cities. Others pretend that it was compos'd of Lovers and their Belov'd; in relation to which, there goes a merry Saying of *Pammenes*, that *Homer's Nestor* was not well skilled in ordering an Army, when he advised the *Greeks* to rank Tribe and Tribe, and Family and Family together. He shou'd have join'd Lovers, and their Beloved: for Men of the same Tribe, or Family, little value one another when Dangers press; but (1) a Band cemented by Friendship founded upon Love, is invincible; since the Lovers, asham'd to be base in the Sight of their Beloved, and the Beloved before their Lovers, willingly rush into Danger for the Relief of One Another; and Reason good, since they have more regard for their absent Lovers, than for any Others, tho' present. An Instance of which that Man gave, who when his Enemy was ready to kill him, ear-

(1) All that *Plutarch* says here is admirable; 'tis an Abridgement of what *Plato* has written in his *Banquet*, where he shews that Love is the best Guide to a good Life; and that neither high Birth, Honours, nor Riches lead Men so effectually to the Performance of virtuous Actions, as Love, which consists in avoiding what is shameful, and in pursuing what is just and honourable: After This he adds, that if it was possible for a whole Town or Army to be made up of nothing but Lovers and their Belov'd, it wou'd be the best Establishment in the World; because every One wou'd shun what was base, and pursue what was honourable; and that an Army thus com-

pos'd, tho' never so small, wou'd be able to beat all Mankind put together. For nothing wou'd ever make the Lover desert his Post, or throw down his Arms, in the Sight of the Person he lov'd; and he wou'd sooner kill himself than either abandon or fail to assist him in Time of Danger. In a Word, there is no such Coward in Nature, whom Love does not inspire to that degree with a Love of Virtue and Honour, as to make him no way inferior to One that is naturally brave; and this is what *Homer* means by the Gods inspiring some Heroes with an exalted and uncommon Bravery: This is the very same Effect which Love produces in Lovers, &c.

nestly

neftly requested him to run him through the Breast, that his Lover might not blush to fee him wounded in the Back. Thus 'tis faid of *Iolaus*, who was belov'd by *Hercules*, that he accompany'd the Hero in all his Labours, and never deserted him in the greateft Danger. Hence arose the Custom (1) for Lovers to swear inviolable Faith and Affection at *Iolaus's* Tomb, which (2) *Aristotle* affures us, continued in his Time. 'Tis very probable therefore that this Band was call'd *Sacred*, on the same Account that (3) *Plato* ftiles a Lover, a *divinely inspir'd Friend*.

'Tis faid, that this Band remain'd invincible 'till the Battel of *Cheronea*; and when *Philip* after the Fight took a view of the Slain, and came to that Place where the Three hundred that fought his *Phalanx* lay dead together, he wonder'd, and understanding that it was the Band of Lovers, he wept, and faid aloud, (4) *May a Curse light on Thofe who can fo much as fufpect that*

(1) This Custom feems to have been practis'd both in *Phocis* and *Boeotia*, where the Feafts of Love were observ'd with great Solemnity. The Lovers and the Persons belov'd were made to swear at *Iolaus's* Tomb, to let them fee, by the Example of *Iolaus* and *Hercules*, that there was no Act of Virtue to which they ought not to be carried by Love. The Author of the Romance call'd *Astrea*, feems to have taken the Hint of the faithful Lovers Bow from hence.

(2) I cannot find this Place in *Aristotle*; but it appears from the *Discourse of Love*, which is among *Plutarch's* moral Works, that this Custom continued to his Time.

(3) In the Passage I quoted before from his *Banquet*, *Plato* fays,

There is no fuch Coward in Nature whom Love does not divinely inspire with Virtue, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος ὃς ἔσται ἐνδεὶς ποιεῖν περὶ ἀρετῆν. But this is not the Place that *Plutarch* refers to here, which is in the following Page, where *Plato* fays, *That the Lover is more divine than the Person belov'd, for he is fill'd with the Spirit of a God. θεϊότερον γὰρ ἔσται πεινῶν, ἐνδεὶς γὰρ ὄντι*, where it feems *Plutarch* had read *ἐνδεὶς οὐκ ἔστι γὰρ ὄντι*; for a Friend is fill'd with the Spirit of a God.

(4) This Saying of *Philip* fhews that fome mean narrow-soul'd Persons entertain'd ill Thoughts of that fort of Love: 'Tis certain, that in fome Places it was vicious; but this does not hinder, but that Reason might in Others fubdue and

that such brave Men cou'd ever do or suffer a shameful Thing.

In short, (1) 'tis certain, that it was not, as the Poets say, the criminal Passion of *Laius* that intro-

and banish that Corruption, and introduce pure and spotless Virtue in its stead. For, as *Plato* says, if there is a criminal, so is there likewise an honourable Love, whose sole Aim is Virtue: Such was that of these Young Men of the Sacred Band, such was the Love of *Socrates* for *Alcibiades*; and this Answer of *Philip* is most proper to be return'd to such who even now-a-days suspect this kind of Love; *May a Curse light on Those who can so much as suspect that such brave Men, Men who have written so strongly against all Kind of corrupt and vicious Love, cou'd ever do or suffer a shameful Thing.* But let us change this Curse into a Prayer, *May they read, may they learn, may they change their Words and Sentiments.*

(1) This Place in *Plutarch* is of that Moment and Consequence, that I hope to be excus'd, if I expose the Errors of the Translators, who have entirely mistaken and spoil'd it. The *Latin* Translator has render'd it, *huic amantium consuetudini, non, ut Poeta auctor, Laii Casus originem apud Thebanos dedit.* It was not the Disaster of *Laius*, &c. How can it be imagin'd that the Death of *Laius* cou'd introduce among the *Thebans* the Love of Young Men? The Misunderstanding only one Word in the Original has been the Occasion of this great Mistake. *τὸ Λαίῳ πᾶσι* does not signify the Death, but Passion of *Laius*: Now the Story which *Plutarch*

had an Eye to in this Place, and which he relates himself in his Comparisons between the Greek and Roman Histories, is as follows; *Laius* was desperately in Love with *Chrysippus* the natural Son of *Pelops*, with whom he maintain'd a criminal Correspondence, 'till the young Man was at last murder'd in the Night by *Hippodamia*, as he was lying by the Side of *Laius*. *Aeschylus* and *Euripides*, who made this Prince's Life the Subject of their Tragedies, pretend that He was the first Instance of this Sort of Love; and that *Funo*, to revenge the Sanctity of the Nuptial Bed, sent the Monster *Sphinx* to *Thebes*, who brought such Miseries and Devastations upon the *Thebans*. But *Plutarch* with good Reason opposes This, and affirms, that there was no manner of Resemblance between the criminal Passion of *Laius*, and the Love of the Young Persons of which the Sacred Band was compos'd; and it is so far from being true, that *Laius* was the first infamous Example of that Kind, that *Plato* in his eighth Book *de Legibus* shews that there was a Law in Being before his Time, forbidding a criminal Commerce between Men and Men, and of Women with one another. This was a Law of Nature, which the Corruption of Mankind had given Occasion to be reviv'd. There were Examples both of a vicious and honourable Love long before the Time of *Laius*.

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duc'd among the *Thebans* this Love of young Men, but it was their Legislators themselves that establish'd it; for having a Mind to soften and polish in their Infancy the natural Fierceness and Roughness of their Youth, they brought the Flute into Vogue, and used it on all serious as well as ludicrous Occasions, instilling in them Principles of that Spiritual Love, as well as other more manly Sentiments in their Places of publick Exercises, that they might thereby temper and soften their innate Warmth and Fierceness: And therefore they did very well to make Harmony, the Daughter of *Mars* and *Venus*, the Tutelar Goddess of their City, thereby to signify, that wheresoever innate Valour and Bravery is mix'd with attractive Graces and the Arts of Persuasion, there must always be the most perfect and best cemented Government; since every Thing there obeys the Laws of Harmony.

But to return to the Sacred Band: *Gorgidas*, who first rais'd it, divided the Men of which it was compos'd in all Engagements, and disposed them up and down in the first Ranks of his Infantry, which made their Courage seem less conspicuous, and they were in effect weaken'd whilst they fought in separate Parties, and (1) were mingled with Others, more in Number, and of inferior Resolution.

But

(1) This Place is corrupted in the Original, but is restor'd in a certain Manuscript which has it thus, ἄτε δὴ διαλελυμένης καὶ παρὰ πολὺ μεμιγμένης τῇ φαυλοτέρῳ. *Plutarch's* Judgment here is of Weight, and deserves to be consider'd. 'Tis an undoubted Principle that a Body of Troops of an establish'd Reputation, ought not to be mix'd in an Engagement with Others of less Bravery; but if ever they are, it ought to be with

a much less Number than themselves, because that less Number may, perhaps, either out of Emulation, or for Fear of Shame, follow the Example of the greater; whereas, when a small Number of brave Troops are mix'd with a greater Number of such as are less valiant, if the greater Number shou'd happen to be faint-hearted and give Way, it will not be in the Power of the smaller Number to re-animate'em, and make'em stand their

But *Pelopidas*, who had made Proof of their Bravery at the Battel of *Tegyra*, where they fought together, and unmix'd, never afterwards divided them, but keeping them always entire as one Body, he constantly charged at the Head of 'em in the most difficult and daring Attempts. For as we see Horses, when they draw together in a Chariot with others, go on with greater Spirit and Alacrity, than when they are driven single and alone, not that the Air is more easily divided by their united Effort, but because Emulation and Jealousy raise their Mettle and heighten their Courage; so *Pelopidas* thought that brave Men were a kind of Spurs and Incentives to one another, and wou'd be more useful, and fight with greater Gallantry together than apart.

Now when the *Lacedæmonians* had made Peace with all the other *Greeks*, and continued the War against the *Thebans* only, and when King *Cleombrotus* had enter'd their Country with an Army of ten thousand Foot and a thousand Horse, they saw themselves in Danger not only of losing their Liberty, as heretofore, but seem'd to be threaten'd with a total Extirpation; which caus'd such an Alarm, and struck so great a Terror all over *Bæotia*, as had never been known before. When all things were prepared, and *Pelopidas* ready to depart for the Army, his Wife following him to the Door earnestly besought him with Tears in her Eyes, to take Care

their Ground. Thus all the Advantage that might have been expected from such a Body fighting by themselves, will be lost. And this was the Mistake of *Gorgidas*, to mix the Sacred Band with a larger Body of worse Troops; whereas *Pelopidas* had very great Success with that Body, because he never divided them, but always made 'em fight together.

'Tis very rare that the Good mend the Bad, but the Bad generally corrupt the Good, especially when they are Superior in Number. *Plutarch* therefore had good Reason to shew *Gorgidas's* Error in weakening the Sacred Band, by mixing it with a greater Number of sorry Troops; for that this was *Plutarch's* Opinion, these Words, *παρὰ πολὺ* plainly shew.

of himself, he reply'd, *Private Men are to be advised to take Care of themselves, and Generals to take Care of Others.*

When he came to the Army and found the General Officers differing in Opinion, he was the First that join'd with *Epaminondas*, who advis'd to give the Enemy Battel. He was not at that time Commander in Chief, but Captain of the Sacred Band; and a Man in the greatest Trust, as it was fit he shou'd be, after he had given such Proofs of his hearty Zeal and Affection for the Liberty of his Country.

A Resolution being then taken to fight, and both Armies lying before *Leuctra*, *Pelopidas* saw a Vision which very much discomposed him. In the Plain of *Leuctra* lie the Bodies of the Daughters of *Scedafus*, call'd from the Place *Leuctrides*. These Maids had been ravish'd by some *Spartans* whom they had entertain'd as Guests, and being unable to survive the Disgrace, they kill'd themselves, and were buried in this Plain. Their Father went to *Lacedæmon* to demand Satisfaction for so detestable and impious an Action, but being unable to obtain it, with direful Curses and Imprecations against the *Spartans*, he kill'd himself at his Daughters Tombs. From that time many Prophecies and Oracles forewarn'd the *Spartans* to beware of the divine Vengeance at *Leuctra*; but these Menaces were not understood, neither was the Place certainly known; because there was a Town in *Laconia* by the Sea-side, call'd *Leuctron*, and another of the same name near *Megalopolis*, in *Arcadia*; besides, the Villany was committed long before this Battel.

Now as *Pelopidas* was asleep in his Tent, he thought he saw the Maids weeping at their Tombs, and loading the *Spartans* with Imprecations, and at the same time their Father *Scedafus*, who comman-

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ded him to sacrifice a young red Virgin to his Daughters, if he desir'd to gain the Victory.

Pelopidas looking on This as a harsh and impious Injunction, rose, and told it to the Augurs and Commanders of the Army. Some were of Opinion that this Injunction was not to be neglected or disobey'd; alledging for Examples the ancient Histories of *Menecus* the Son of *Creon*, and of *Maçaria* the Daughter of *Hercules*; and Others more modern, as That of *Pherocydes* the Philosopher, who was put to Death by the *Lacedæmonians*, and whose Skin, at the Oracle's Command, is still carefully kept by the Kings of *Sparta*; and That of *Leonidas*, who, in obedience to the Oracle, did in a manner sacrifice Himself for the Safety of *Greece*; and lastly That of *Themistocles*, who, before the Battel of *Salamis*, sacrific'd three Prisoners to *Bacchus*, surnam'd *Omestes*; and that all these Sacrifices were justified by the Success. They said further, that *Agésilas* marching from the same Place, and against the same Enemies that *Agamemnon* did before, was commanded one Night as he lay at *Aulis* (1) to sacrifice his Daughter to the Goddess *Diana*; but out of his extreme Tenderness for her, he refus'd it; and so his Expedition prov'd successless: These were their

(1) *Xenophon*, in the seventh Book of his *Grecian History*, writes, that *Pelopidas* being sent Ambassador to the King of *Persia*, got into his good Graces, by making him believe that the Hatred of the *Spartans* against the *Thebans* proceeded from their Refusal to assist *Agésilas* in his Expedition against him, and that it was They who had prevented his offering a Sacrifice to *Diana* at *Aulis*, in the same Place where *Agamemnon* had before offer'd one, when he was going into *Asia*, after which Sa-

crifice he took the City of *Troy*. This is what we read in that judicious Historian: And 'tis very probable that what *Pelopidas* told that great Monarch was nothing but a Fiction of his Own, to let him understand that he was under Obligations to the *Thebans*, that he had not like *Priam* lost his Crown; for had *Agésilas* sacrific'd his Daughter to *Diana*, as *Agamemnon* had done before, the Goddess wou'd assuredly have crown'd him with Success.

Reasons

Reasons who were for paying a Regard to *Pelopidas's* Vision.

Others were of a contrary Opinion, and insisted that so barbarous and unjust an Oblation cou'd not be acceptable to any of the Gods, or to any superior Beings; that *Typhons* and Giants did not preside over the World, but the Father of Gods and Men; that (1) it was impious to suppose that the Gods took delight in human Sacrifices; and if there were any such, they were to be neglected as vicious and impotent Beings; for such unjust and corrupt Desires cou'd only proceed from, and subsist in, weak and deprav'd Minds.

The Generals thus differing in Opinion, and *Pelopidas* bring very much at a Stand which way to determine, all on a sudden a wild She-Colt that had broke out of the Stud, ran through the Camp, and when she came near the Place where They were, stood still: whilst Some admired the sparkling Redness of her Colour, and Others the stateliness of her Gate, and the haughty Vigour of her Neighings, *Theocritus* the Augur having consider'd the Matter, cry'd out to *Pelopidas*, *Behold there the Victim that comes to offer itself; wait Thou for no other Virgin, but sacrifice That which the Gods have sent Thee.* Whereupon they seiz'd the Colt, brought her to the Tombs of the *Leuëtrides*, and there offer'd her up with the usual Prayers and Ceremonies, testifying their Joy, and publishing throughout the Army an Account of *Pelopidas's* Vision, and the Sacrifice that had been required of him.

(1) The *Pythagoreans* were the First among the Heathen Philosophers who oppos'd that ridiculous Opinion, that the Gods fed on the Flesh of human Sacrifices; and taught that there was no Superior Being that made the same Use of Us, that we do of other Living Creatures. See the Commentaries on *Hierocles*.

The Day of Battel being come, (1) *Epaminondas* plac'd his heavy-arm'd Infantry in the left Wing, which he order'd to advance and extend themselves aſlant, to the end that the right Wing of the *Spartans* being oblig'd to divide from the other *Greeks*, their Allies, he might be able to break through them with the greater Eaſe, and preſs the harder upon *Gleombrotus* who commanded them; but the Enemy perceiving his Deſign, chang'd the Diſpoſition of their Army, and began to extend their right Wing further out, with a Deſign to encompaſs *Epaminondas*. But *Pelopidas* came briskly up before *Gleombrotus* cou'd open and cloſe his Diviſions, and at the Head of his Sacred Band fell upon the diſorder'd *Spartans*. The *Lacedæmonians* are the moſt expert of all the *Greeks* in the Art of War;

(1) This is the true Meaning of the *Greek*, which only ſays, that *Epaminondas* advanc'd and extended his Battalion aſlant by the Side of his left Wing, &c. The *Greeks* call'd a ſlanting or oblique Battalion, *φάλαγγα λοξήν*, when one of the Wings made up of the beſt Troops advanc'd athwart towards the Enemy, leaving a Space between it and the main Body of the Army, which always retir'd back in Proportion as they advanc'd forward. *Xenophon* does not ſeem to be altogether of *Plutarch's* Opinion, as to the Cauſes that concurr'd towards the gaining this Battel: For he ſays, two Reaſons may be given why the *Lacedæmonians* loſt it. The firſt was, becauſe their Horſe were good for nothing; for at that Time only ſuch as were rich kept Horſes, ſo that whenever a War happen'd they were oblig'd, in order to mount their Cavalry, to take up with the firſt Horſes they

cou'd lay their Hands on, and with indifferent unſkilful Riders, who underſtood nothing at all of Horſemanſhip; whereas the *Theban* Horſe were very good, expert and well-diſciplin'd, by having been long employ'd in the Wars againſt the *Orchomenians* and *Theſſians*. The ſecond Reaſon why the *Lacedæmonians* were defeated in this Battel, was, becauſe their right Wing was only twelve Men deep, whereas the left Wing of the *Thebans* was fifty; for this Reaſon, and with this View, that if they cou'd make the right Wing of the *Lacedæmonians*, where King *Gleombrotus* was, give Way, the reſt wou'd not ſtand. *Plutarch* in this Account has follow'd *Diodorus Siculus*, who, in relating this Battel in his fifteenth Book, makes Uſe of the ſame Words, and his Account helps very much to clear up this of *Plutarch*, which is obſcure enough.

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and are train'd up, and accustom'd to nothing more than to keep themselves from Confusion when their Order is disturb'd, and follow any Leader, or Right-hand Man, disposing themselves to fight on what Part soever the Danger presses: But in this Battel, *Epaminondas*, without any regard to the other Troops, falling upon the right Wing while they were in Confusion, and *Pelopidas* at the same time coming up at the Head of his three hundred Men, with incredible Speed and Bravery, baffled and defeated all their Art and Skill, and caus'd such a Flight and Slaughter among the *Lacedæmonians*, as had never been known before. So that *Pelopidas*, who only commanded the Sacred Band, gain'd as much Glory and Renown by this Day's Victory, as *Epaminondas*, who was Governour of *Bœotia*, and Commander in chief of the whole Army.

Soon after this, being joint *Archons*, or Governours of *Bœotia*, they march'd into *Peloponnesus*, where they made several Cities revolt from the *Lacedæmonians*, as *Elis*, *Argos*, all *Arcadia*, and the greatest Part even of *Laconia*. It was now the very depth of Winter, near the latter End of the last Month in the Year, when the Time of their going out of their Office was very nigh expir'd; for on the first Day of the next Month new Governours were of course to succeed, and whoever refus'd to deliver up their Charge forfeited their Heads.

All the other *Archons*, for fear of this Law, and to avoid the Inclemency of the Season, were by all means for marching back with the Army to *Thebes*; but *Pelopidas* join'd with *Epaminondas*, and encouraging his Fellow-Citizens, led them against *Sparta*, and passing the *Eurotas*, took several of their Towns, and ravag'd the whole Country, at the Head of an Army of above seventy thousand Men, of which the *Thebans* did not make the twelfth Part. But the high Reputation of those two great Men made all

the Allies without any Publick Order or Agreement range themselves with a respectful Silence under their Banners, and march under their Direction; for the first and chiefest of all Laws seems to be That of Nature, which directs, that when People stand in need of Protection and Defence, that Person shou'd be their Chief, or General, who is best able to protect and defend 'em. As Mariners, tho' in a Calm, or in Port, they appear insolent, and brave the Pilot, but as soon as they come out to Sea, and a Storm begins to arise, at the first Appearance of Danger all their Eyes are fix'd on Him, and they rely wholly on his Skill; so the *Argives*, the *Eleans*, and the *Arcadians* in their Consults wou'd contend with the *Thebans* for Superiority of Command; but whenever they were oblig'd to fight, or saw any Danger at hand, they all submitted to the *Theban* Generals, and readily obey'd their Orders.

In this Expedition they united all *Arcadia* into one Body, and driving out the *Spartans* who inhabited *Messenia*, call'd home its ancient Inhabitants, and gave them *Ithome* to possess. And in their Return home through *Cenchrea*, (1) they defeated the *Athenians*, who had attack'd them in the narrow Ways, with a design to hinder their Passage. These great and mighty Exploits made all the other People of *Greece* applaud their Valour, and admire their Success; but (2) the Envy of their Fellow-Citizens encreasing in proportion to their Glory, prepar'd such a Reception for 'em at their Return, as their signal Services to their Country had very ill deserv'd;

(1) This happen'd to the *Athenians* through the Fault of their General *Iphicrates*, who designing to secure the Passes, had forgot to seize on *Cenchrea*, which was the most commodious Post to hinder the *Thebans* from passing.

(2) I am surpriz'd that *Plutarch* shou'd attribute this to the Envy of the Citizens, rather than to a Love

serv'd; for they were both clap'd up as State-Prisoners, and try'd for neglecting to lay down their Command at the Beginning of the Month call'd *Boucation*, and continuing to hold it four Months longer, contrary to Law; during which Time they perform'd those famous Exploits in *Messenia*, *Arcadia* and *Laconia*.

Pelopidas was try'd first, and therefore was in most Danger; but at last they were Both acquitted. *Epaminondas* bore the Accusation and Tryal very patiently, esteeming it a great piece of Generosity not to resent the Injuries of his Citizens. But *Pelopidas* being naturally of a warmer Temper, and excited by his Friends to revenge the Affront, took this Occasion:

Meneclides, the Orator, was one of Those that were concern'd with *Melon* and *Pelopidas* in the Combination at *Charon's* House; this Man seeing himself less consider'd by the *Thebans* than the rest of the Conspirators, and being withal powerful in Speech, but loose in his Manners, and ill-natur'd, he abused his natural Endowments to accuse and calumniate his Betters, and this he continued to do, even after Judgment was pass'd in their Favour. By his secret Practices he got *Epaminondas* remov'd from the Government of *Bœotia*, and for a long time hinder'd him from succeeding in every Thing he attempted: But being unable by all his Artifices to rob *Pelopidas* of the People's Favour, he went another way to work, and endeavour'd to create a Misunderstanding between Him and *Charon*; for

Love of Discipline, and a due Regard to the Laws. Generals who retain the Command of an Army, contrary to the Orders of their Superiors, and the Laws of their Country, are certainly criminal, whatever great Things they may

happen to achieve. All that *Pelopidas* and *Epaminondas* perform'd in this Expedition, was not sufficient to counterbalance the evident Danger to which they expos'd their Country by so pernicious an Example.

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'tis some Comfort and Relief to an envious Person, when he is unable to excell Those he envies, to make 'em be thought at least inferior to Those he has a Mind to extoll: For this Reason he was continually entertaining the People with the noble Exploits and Atchievements of *Charon*, which he amplify'd as much as possible, and made frequent Panegyricks on his great Victories and Expeditions; and particularly extoll'd the Battel won by their Horse under *Charon's* Command at *Platea*, a little before the Battel of *Leuctra*, the Memory of which he attempted to perpetuate and make sacred, and had this Opportunity of doing it. *Androcydes*, a famous Painter from *Cyzicus*, had begun a Picture of some other Battel for the *Thebans*, which he work'd at in the City of *Thebes*; but when the Revolt began, and the War came on, he was obliged to leave the City; however, the *Thebans* kept the Picture, which was very nigh finish'd. *Meneclides* endeavour'd to persuade the People to hang this Picture in some Temple, or publick Place, with an Inscription signifying it to be one of *Charon's* Battels; and this he did with no other View but by that Means to obscure the Glory of *Pelopidas* and *Epaminondas*. But (1) it was a ridiculous and senseless Ambition to prefer one single Engagement, wherein nothing considerable was atchiev'd, and no more slain on the *Spartan* Side than one *Gerandas*, an obscure Citizen, and forty more, to so many great and noble Victories.

(1) Nothing can shew the Nature of Envy more manifestly than *Meneclides's* giving the Preference to *Charon* before *Pelopidas* and *Epaminondas*. This *Charon* was, without doubt, a Person of no Distinction, since *Xenophon* mention-

ing the Conspirators he receiv'd into his House, says plainly, *that they went into the House of one Charon*, παρὰ Χάρωνι τινί. Which is not the way of speaking of Persons of Note.

Pelopidas

Pelopidas oppos'd this Motion, affirming it to be contrary to Law, and insisting that it had never been the Custom of the *Thebans* to honour any private Person on account of any publick Success, but to attribute the whole Glory of all their Victories to their Country. During this whole Proceeding he highly extoll'd *Charon*, but at the same time made it plainly appear that *Meneclides* was a troublesome envious Fellow, and often ask'd the *Thebans*, if they had never before done any thing that was great and excellent. The *Thebans* hereupon laid a heavy Fine on *Meneclides*, which he being unable to pay, us'd his utmost Endeavours ever after to disturb and overturn the Government. An Account of these little Incidents is of some Use to give us Insight into the Lives and Manners of Men.

At that time *Alexander* (1) the Tyrant of *Phere* made open War against several Parts of *Thessaly*, and had entertain'd a secret Design to subdue the whole; whereupon the Cities sent Ambassadors to *Thebes*, to beg the Assistance of some Troops and a General. *Pelopidas* knowing that *Epaminondas* was detain'd by the *Peloponnesian* War, offer'd Himself to command in *Thessaly*, being loth that the Skill he had acquir'd in military Affairs should lie useless, and well knowing that where-ever *Epaminondas* commanded, there was no need of any other General.

Pelopidas then march'd with an Army into *Thessaly*, where he soon reduc'd the City of *Larissa*, and oblig'd *Alexander* to submit, endeavouring to reform him, and instead of a Tyrant, to make him become a just and merciful Prince; but finding him

(1) He had lately poison'd his Uncle *Polyphron*, and succeeded him; this *Polyphron* had slain his Brother *Polydore*. They were both Brothers to *Jason*, who having

been appointed General of the *Thessalians*, turn'd Tyrant, and had reign'd five Years. *Alexander* was the Son of *Polydore*.

incorrigible

incorrigible and brutal beyond Example, and receiving daily Complaints of his Cruelty, Lewdness and Avarice, he began to be severe, and us'd him roughly; at which the Tyrant was so much alarm'd, that he made his Escape privately with his Guards. *Pelopidas* having thus secur'd the *Thessalians* from all danger of Tyranny, and left them in a good Understanding among themselves, march'd for *Macedonia*, where (1) *Ptolemy* was making War against *Alexander* the King of *Macedon*; and whither he had been invited by those two Brothers, to decide their Disputes, and assist Him that should appear to be injured.

Pelopidas, immediately upon his Arrival, put an End to all their Differences, and recall'd all such as had been banished by the contending Parties on either Side, and taking with him *Philip*, King *Alexander's* Brother, and thirty Youths of the chief Families in *Macedonia* for Hostages, he brought them to *Thebes*; shewing the *Grecians* what Authority the *Thebans* had gain'd abroad by the Reputation of their Arms, and the good Opinion every where conceiv'd of their Justice and Integrity. This was that *Philip* who many Years after made War against *Greece*, with a Design to conquer and enslave it. He was then a Boy, and was brought up at *Thebes* with one *Pammenes*. Hence 'twas believ'd, that he propos'd *Epaminondas* as his Pattern, and 'twas from Him he learn'd his Activity in Battel, and Quickness in making an Advantage of all Opportunities, which were the least Parts of that great Man's Excellencies; but of his Temperance, his Justice, his Magnanimity, and his Clemency, which

(1) *Amyntas* II. died and left three lawful Children, *Alexander*, *Perdiccas*, and *Philip*, and one natural Son, whose Name was *Pro-*

my. This last made War against *Alexander*, slew him treacherously, and reign'd three Years.

made him truly great, *Philip* possess'd no share at all, either from Nature or Imitation.

The Year following, the *Thessalians* prefer'd a second Complaint against *Alexander* the *Pherean*, as a Disturber of the Peace, and forming Designs upon their Cities. *Pelopidas* and *Ismenias* were sent joint Ambassadors thither; but having no Expectation of a War, they brought no Troops with them from *Thebes*, so that Things taking a contrary turn to what they expected, they were compell'd to make use of *Thessalians*.

At the same time *Macedonia* began to be troubled again with Factions and Commotions. *Ptolemy* had murder'd King *Alexander's* Brother, and seiz'd his Kingdom. The deceas'd King's Friends sent for *Pelopidas*, and he being willing to espouse their Interest, but having no Troops of his Own at hand, he rais'd some Mercenaries, with which he march'd directly against *Ptolemy*.

When they came near one another, *Ptolemy* found Means to corrupt the Mercenaries, and bring them over to his Side; but yet fearing the very Name and Reputation of *Pelopidas*, he came submissively to him as to a Superior, confess'd his Fault, ask'd Pardon, and solemnly promis'd to keep the Kingdom for the dead King's Brothers, and that he wou'd esteem the Friends and Enemies of *Thebes* as his Own; and for Security of this, gave his Son *Philoxenus*, and fifty of his Companions, Hostages. These *Pelopidas* sent to *Thebes*; but retaining still a Resentment of the Mercenaries Treachery in deserting him, and understanding that they had lodged the best part of their Effects with their Wives and Children at *Pharsalus*, he thought the seizing Them wou'd be a sufficient Revenge for the Injury he had receiv'd: Whereupon he assembled some *Thessalian* Troops, and marched thither. He was no sooner arriv'd there, but *Alexander* the Tyrant

rant appear'd before the Place with a mighty Army. But *Pelopidas* believing that he came thither to justify himself, and answer the Complaints that had been made against him, *Ismenias* and He went Themselves to him without any further Precaution; not that they were ignorant of his being wicked and bloody, but they imagin'd that the Power and Authority of *Thebes*, and their own Dignity and Reputation, wou'd protect 'em from all Violence. However (1) as soon as the Tyrant saw them alone, and unarm'd, he took them Prisoners, and made himself Master of *Pharsalus*.

This Action fill'd the Minds of all his Subjects with Fears and Jealousies; believing, after so flagrant and daring an Injury, he wou'd spare no body; but behave himself on all Occasions, and toward all Persons, as one quite desperate, that had thrown off all regard to himself, and his own Safety. When the *Thebans* heard the News of this Outrage, they were highly incens'd, and immediately sent an Army into *Theffaly*; and (2) *Epaminondas* happening at that time to lie under their Displeasure, they made choice of other Generals.

In the mean time, the Tyrant brought *Pelopidas* to *Pherea*, and at first permitted every Body

(1) *Polybius* highly blames this Action of *Pelopidas*; who knowing, says he, the Tyrant's Injustice, and that all Tyrants are irreconcilable Enemies to Those that stand up for Liberty, was yet so imprudent as to go Ambassador to him, by which he did great Disservice to the *Thebans*, and lost all the Reputation he had gain'd, by indiscreetly and rashly confiding, where he ought to have plac'd no Confidence at all.

(2) They were displeas'd at

him, because in the last Expedition against the *Lacedemonians*, after the Battel that he fought near *Corinth*, against some Troops that disputed his Passage, he spar'd several that he might lawfully have put to the Sword. Whereupon his Enemies charg'd him with Treachery, got him remov'd from the Government of *Bæotia*, and caus'd him to be sent along with their Forces, as a private Person. *Diodor. lib. xv.*

that

that wou'd to see him ; believing that this disaster wou'd humble his Spirit, and abate his Courage : But when *Pelopidas* advis'd the complaining *Phereans* to be comforted, as if the Tyrant in a short time wou'd smart for his Injuries, and sent to tell him *that it was absurd daily to torment and put to Death so many innocent worthy Citizens, and to spare Him, who, he very well knew, if ever he escap'd out of his Hands, wou'd be sure to make him suffer the Punishment his Crimes had deserv'd* : The Tyrant, surpriz'd at this Boldness and Magnanimity, answer'd, *Why is Pelopidas in so much in haste to die ? Which being told Pelopidas, he sent him this Reply, 'Tis that thou may'st perish so much the sooner, by becoming still more hated both by Gods and Men.*

From that time the Tyrant forbid any one to see or discourse with him. But *Thebe* his Wife, the Daughter of *Jason*, who had likewise been Tyrant of *Pherea*, having been inform'd by his Keepers of the great Firmness and Intrepidity of *Pelopidas*, had a great desire to see, and talk with him. When she came into the Prison, and like a Woman (1) cou'd not immediately perceive his Greatness in his Calamity, but guessing by the meanness of his Attire, and Provision, that he was used basely, she fell a weeping. *Pelopidas* at first not knowing who she was, stood amazed ; but when he understood her Quality he saluted her by her Father's Name, for *Jason* and He had been Friends and Familiars ; and she saying *I pity your Wife, Sir ;* he reply'd, *And I You, who being at Liberty can endure Alexander.* This Saying touch'd *Thebe* to the quick ; for she already hated *Alexander* for his Cruelty and Insolence, and who, be-

(1) This is the true Meaning of this Place. Women commonly judge only by outward Appearance. A Hero, if he happens to be dirty and ill-drest, will be thought by them to be a poor Contemptible Fellow.

sides all his other infamous Behaviour, had abused her younger Brother to his Lust. Going therefore often to see *Pelopidas*, and complaining freely to him of the Outrages she had receiv'd, she grew more and more exasperated against her Husband, and became full of Resentment, Detestation, and desire of Revenge.

The *Theban* Generals that were come into *Thessaly* did nothing at all; but being either through ill Fortune or bad Conduct oblig'd (1) to make a disadvantageous and dishonourable Retreat, the *Thebans* fin'd each of 'em ten thousand Drachmas, and sent *Epaminondas* with an Army to repair the Dishonour.

The Fame and Reputation of *Epaminondas* gave new Life and Courage to the *Thessalians*, and occasion'd great Insurrections among 'em, so that from that time the Tyrant's Affairs seem'd to be in a very desperate Condition; such was the Fear that had seiz'd all his Officers and Friends, so forward the Inclination of his Subjects to revolt, and so universal the Joy, at the prospect of that Vengeance that seem'd ready to overtake him for all his past Crimes.

But *Epaminondas* preferring the Safety of *Pelopidas* to his own Reputation, and fearing, if he push'd matters to an extremity at first, the Tyrant might grow desperate, and, like a wild Beast, turn all his fury against his Prisoner, did not vigorously prosecute the War, but hovering still over him with his Army, he so handled the Ty-

(1) For the Tyrant pursu'd 'em in their Retreat, harass'd them grievously, and slew great Numbers of 'em. And the whole Army had been entirely defeated, had not the Soldiers compell'd *Epaminondas*, who was there only as a Volun-

teer, to take the Command. But he taking the Horse, and light Foot, march'd in the Rear, repuls'd and charg'd the Enemy several Times, and so made good their Retreat, and sav'd the *Bæotians*. *Diodor. lib. xv.*

rant, as not to make him despair, nor (1) abate his habitual Fierceness, for he very well knew his savage Disposition, and the little regard he had either to Reason or Justice. He was not ignorant that he had caus'd some Men to be buried alive, and Others to be dressed in Bears and Boars Skins, and then baited them with Dogs, or shot at them for his Diversion. At *Melibea* and *Scotusa*, two Cities that were in Friendship and Alliance with him, he summon'd the People to an Assembly, and having surrounded 'em with his Guards, he put them All, Young and Old, to the Sword. He consecrated the Spear with which he slew his Uncle *Polyphron*, and having crown'd it with Festoons and Garlands, (2) offer'd Sacrifice to it, as to a God, and gave it the name of *Tychon*.

Seeing a famous Tragedian once act the *Troades* of *Euripides*, he went hastily out of the Theater, but sent to tell the Actor *not to be disturb'd, but to go on with his Part; for he did not go out, from any Contempt of Him, but because he was asham'd his Citizens shou'd see Him, who never pity'd Those he murder'd, weep at the sufferings of Hecuba and Andromache*.

This cruel Tyrant was struck at the very Name of *Epaminondas*; and overpower'd with the Majesty and Awfulness of his Appearance began to discover his dastard Heart, *like a cow'd Cock with his Wings hanging down*, and dispatch'd an Embassy in

(1) This is the Meaning of this Passage, which has been very ill Translated. *Epaminondas* had no mind that the Tyrant shou'd give over his former Outrages; because such a Change might have reconcil'd the greatest Part of his Subjects to him, who had been in-

duc'd by his Cruelties to take Arms against him.

(2) Something after the same manner *Virgil* represents *Turnus* invoking his Spear.

—*Nunc, ô, nunquam frustrata co-*
natus

Hasta meos!

all haste to intreat, and offer satisfaction. *Epaminondas* refused to admit such a Man an Ally to the *Thebans*, but only allow'd him a Truce of thirty days, and having recover'd *Pelopidas* and *Ismenias* out of his Hands, he march'd back with his Army.

In the meantime the *Thebans*, having discover'd that the *Spartans* and *Athenians* had sent Ambassadors to conclude a League with the King of *Persia*, sent *Pelopidas* on their Part; whose establish'd Reputation (1) fully evidenc'd the Wisdom of their Choice.

No Man of such great Fame and Reputation, had ever before enter'd the King's Dominions; for the Glory he won against the *Spartans*, did not move slowly or obscurely; but after the Fame of the first Battel at *Leuctra* was gone abroad, the Report of some new Victories continually following, exceedingly encreased and spread his Reputation. When he arriv'd at the *Persian* Court, and was seen by the Nobles and great Officers that waited there, he became the Object of their Admiration; All of 'em saying, *This is the Man that despoil'd the Spartans of their Empire both by Sea and Land, and confin'd Sparta within the Bounds of Taygetus and Eurotas; That Sparta, which a little before, under the Conduct of Agesilaus, made War against our great Monarch, and threaten'd the Kingdoms of Susa and Ecbatana.*

Artaxerxes was highly pleas'd at his Arrival, and made it his study to heighten his Reputation, by doing him all imaginable Honours; and This out of vanity and regard to himself, to let his Subjects see, that the most virtuous and renown'd Persons made their Court, and paid Homage to Him, as the greatest and happiest Monarch on

(1) *Plutarch* gives us plainly to go Ambassadors to great Princes, understand in this Place, that Wisdom requires, that Persons who shou'd be Men of distinguish'd Eminency and Reputation.

Earth. But having admitted him to an Audience, and both seen his Person, and heard his Discourse, which was stronger than That of the *Athenian*, and plainer than the *Spartan* Ambassadors, he conceiv'd a still greater Esteem for him; and (1) truly acting like a King, he did not conceal the great regard he had for him: and 'This the other Ambassadors perceiv'd, tho' He seem'd (2) to have done *Antalcidas* the *Spartan* the greatest Honour, by sending him a Garland dipp'd in rich Essences, which he Himself had worn at an Entertainment: He did not indeed treat *Pelopidas* after so familiar and free a manner, but he sent him the richest and most magnificent Presents, and granted All he asked; that all the Greeks shou'd be free and independent, that *Messena* shou'd be re-peopled, and that the *Thebans* shou'd be always reckon'd the King's * hereditary Friends.

* Πατρι-
κὴς φίλος.

Having receiv'd so favourable an Answer he re- turn'd home, without accepting any other of the King's Presents, than what serv'd as a Pledge of his Majesty's Favour and Good-will towards him; and this Behaviour of *Pelopidas* ruin'd the other Ambassadors. The *Athenians* try'd and executed *Timagoras*; and indeed if they did it for receiving so many Presents from the King, their Sentence was just and good: For he not only took Gold and Silver, but a rich Bed, and Slaves to make it; as if the *Greeks* had been less ingenious and skilful

(1) This is the meaning of these Words, πᾶσι Βασιλεὺς παρὼν, which the Translators have mistaken. *Plutarch* here declares a great Truth, that Princes don't stifle their Inclinations, but often shew and declare them contrary to their Interests. *Araxixes* might very well have conceal'd from the other Ambassadors his abundant Kindness for *Pelopidas*,

which so much disoblig'd them.

(2) I don't think *Antalcidas* was then at the King of *Persia's* Court; either *Plutarch* was mistaken, or else he writ. he seem'd to have done the greatest Honour to *Timagoras*; for *Timagoras* was the Person the King esteem'd next to *Pelopidas*. Τιμαγόρας ἐτιμᾶτο δ' ὅτι μετὰ τὸν Πελοπίδαν. *Xenoph.* p. 486.

in such Arts. Besides This, he received fourscore Cows, and Herdmen to look after them, as if he wanted Milk for some Distemper; and last of All, when he left the Court, he was carried in a Chair as far as the Sea-Coast, at the King's Expence, who paid the Chairmen four Talents for his Carriage.

But 'tis probable the Presents he received were not the principal Cause of the *Athenians* Displeasure; since *Epicrates*, (1) a Porter, not only confessed in a publick Assembly of the People, that he Himself had received Presents from the King of *Persia*, but proposed, instead of chusing nine Archons, or Governors, every Year, that a Decree should be made to send yearly Twelve of the poorest Citizens Ambassadors to *Persia*, to be enriched by the King's Presents; which Motion set all the People a laughing.

But (2) what exasperated the *Athenians* most, was, that the *Thebans* had obtained All they desired; in which they laid too little Stress on the great Reputation of *Pelopidas*, not considering that His

(1) The Meanness of this Office gives Reason to believe that the Word *σχευοφόρος* in the Original has been corrupted; for 'tis not probable that so great a Monarch would take particular Notice of so mean a Fellow, or that he would have been allowed to speak and give his Opinion in a publick Assembly, as *Plutarch* here relates: Wherefore instead of *σχευοφόρος*, Some would have *σκαυοφόρος* *Scutarij*; but this Correction does not seem to be well supported. This great Prince might very well have extended his Generosity to this Fellow, how mean soever his Employment was. And 'tis well known; that in the publick Assemblies at *Athens*, the

meanest Person had the Liberty to propose whatever he thought fit; and the meaner the Person is, so much the more diverting and ridiculous is whatever he says on such an Occasion.

(2) *Plutarch* does not give us here the true Reason which *Xenophon* assigns, why the *Athenians* put *Timagoras* to Death, which was, that *Leon*, his Collegue in that Embassy, had accused him, at his Return, of refusing to lodge with him, and of keeping a Correspondence with *Pelopidas*; and in short, that he had confirmed all that *Pelopidas* had said to the Advantage of the *Thebans*.

Fame carried more Weight and Rhetorick with it, than all the studied Harangues of the other Ambassadors, especially with a Prince who always took Care to compliment and favour the most Successful and Victorious.

The Affection and Esteem of the *Thebans* for *Pelopidas* was not a little encreased by this Embassy, in which he procured the Freedom of *Greece* and Restitution of *Messena*, of which they gave him very signal Proofs at his Return.

Alexander, the *Pherean* Tyrant, returning at this time to his natural Disposition, had destroyed several Cities of *Thessaly*, and put Garrisons into Those of the *Pthiotæ*, the *Achaïans*, and the *Magnesians*; who hearing that *Pelopidas* was returned, sent Deputies to *Thebes*, to desire the Assistance of some Forces, and Him for their General. The *Thebans* soon came to a Resolution to grant their Request: And now when all Things were in a manner prepared, and the General just ready to march, all on a sudden the Sun was eclipsed, and the whole City of *Thebes* covered with Darkness at Mid-day. *Pelopidas* seeing the People so much surprized at this *Phænomenon*, did not think fit to compel the Army to march under such Apprehensions, nor to hazard the Lives of seven thousand of his Fellow-Citizens; but committing himself wholly to the *Thessalians*, and taking with him only three hundred Horse, composed of *Thebans* and Strangers, that offered themselves as Volunteers, he departed, contrary to the Opinion of the Augurs and Citizens, who endeavoured to hinder him, believing that this Eclipse portended something extraordinary, and boded ill to this great Man. But *Pelopidas*, besides his Resentment for the Injuries he had received, hoped, from the Conversation he formerly had with his Wife *Thebe*, to find great Disorders and Divisions in the Tyrant's own Family. But That which ex-

cited and urged him most to this Undertaking was the Glory of the Action it self; for his whole Aim and Ambition was, to let all the *Greeks* see, that at the same time when the *Spartans* on one hand sent Officers and Generals to *Dionysius* the *Sicilian* Tyrant, and the *Athenians* on the Other, were kept in Pay, as it were, by *Alexander*, and had erected a brazen Statue in Honour of Him, as a Benefactor, the *Thebans* were the only People that waged War to succour the Distressed, and to exterminate all arbitrary and unjust Government in *Greece*.

After he had assembled his Forces at *Pharfalus*, he marched against the Tyrant; who finding that *Pelopidas* had but few *Thebans*, and that his own Infantry was more than double the Number of the *Thessalians*, went to meet him as far as the Temple of *Thetis*: And when it was told *Pelopidas* that the Tyrant was advancing towards him with a prodigious Army, he said, *So much the better, we shall beat so many the More.*

Hard by a Place called *Cynocephales* (*Dogs Heads*) there stood two steep Hills opposite to one another, in the middle of the Plain. Both Sides strove to get Possession of these two Hills with their Foot, and at the same time *Pelopidas* ordered his Horse, which were very good, to charge the Enemy's Cavalry, which they presently routed, and pursued over the Plain. But *Alexander* had gained the Hills before the *Thessalian* Foot could reach them, and falling fiercely upon Such of them as attempted to force those Ascents, he killed the Foremost of them, and wounded so many of Those that followed, that they were obliged to give way.

Pelopidas seeing This, called back his Horse, and ordered them to attack such of the Enemy as still kept their Ground; and taking his Shield in his Hand, made what Haste he could to join Those that fought about the Hills; and advancing to the Front

Front filled his Men with such Courage and Alacrity, that the Enemy imagined they came with other Spirits, and other Bodies to the Onset. They stood two or three Charges; but when they found the *Theſſalian* Foot ſtill preſs forward, and perceived the Horſe returning from the Purſuit, they began to give Ground, and made a ſlow and orderly Retreat. *Pelopidas* at the ſame time viewing, from an Aſcent, the Enemy's Army, which did not yet in reality fly, but began to give way, and fall into Diſorder, ſtop'd for a while, caſting his Eyes about, and looking every way to find out *Alexander*.

As ſoon as he perceived him in the right Wing, rallying and encouraging his Mercenaries, he was no longer Maſter of his Reaſon, but inflamed at the Sight, and blindly and heedleſſly following his Paſſion, he advanced far before his Soldiers, crying out, and challenging the Tyrant, who did not dare to receive him, but retreating, hid himſelf amongſt his Guards. The foremoſt of the Mercenaries that came Hand to Hand were cut down by *Pelopidas*, but Others fighting at a Diſtance, ſhot through his Armor, and wounded him; after which they ſtabbed him in the Breſt with their Spears.

The *Theſſalians* ſeeing him in this Danger, made Haſte from the Hills to his Aſſiſtance; but when they came to the Place where he was, found him dead upon the Ground. At the ſame time both Horſe and Foot preſſing hard upon the Enemy intirely routed them, purſuing them a great Way, and covering the Plain with more than three thouſand dead Bodies. The *Thebans* that were then preſent expreſſed the greateſt Concern imaginable at *Pelopidas*'s Death, calling him their *Father*, *Saviour*, and *Inſtructor in every Thing that was Great and Honourable*. And 'tis no wonder They did ſo, when the *Theſſalians* and Allies, after they had exceeded

by their Edicts, in his Favour, the greatest Honours that had ever been paid to human Virtues, gave still greater and more undeniable Proofs of their Love to him by their Grief; for the whole Army, both Officers and Soldiers, when they understood he was dead, neither put off their Armour, unbridled their Horses, nor dressed their Wounds, but ran all to Him, as if he had been still alive, heaped up the Spoils of the Enemy about his dead Body, and cut off their Horses Mains, and their own Hair; and such as retired to their Tents, neither kindled a Fire, or took any Refreshment, but a general Silence, Consternation and Grief reigned throughout the Army, as if they had not gained a very great and glorious Victory, but were defeated and enslaved by the Tyrant.

In all the Cities through which his Body was carried, the Magistrates, young Men, Children, and Priests came out to meet it with Trophies, Crowns, and golden Armour. And when the time of his Interment was come, the *Theſſalian* Elders begged the *Thebans* to allow them the Honour of burying him. One of them upon this Occasion made the following Speech.

Illustrious Friends and Allies, we ask a Favour of you, which will be a very singular Honour, and at the same time administer Consolation to us in this great and inexpressible Misfortune. (1) 'Tis not Pelopidas alive the Theſſalians desire to attend; 'tis not to Pelopidas, sensible of what is done to him, they desire to pay the Honours due to his Merit: No, Pelopidas dead is their present Concern. Permit us to wash, adorn, and pay

(1) For had it been to Pelopidas alive they designed great Honours, Self-interest might have been suspected to be in the Case, and that it was all done to gain his Friendship. But since these Honours are paid

only to Pelopidas when dead, they can proceed from nothing but Love and Gratitude. This Speech is very moving; but it has suffered much in the Translations.

our last Honours to his Body, which will convince us that you believe our Share in this common Calamity greater than your Own. You, 'tis true, have lost an excellent General; but We, with the Loss of a General, have lost all Hopes of Liberty; for how shall we dare to desire Another of you, since we cannot restore Pelopidas?

The Thebans sympathizing with them in their Concern, granted their Request. And never was a more splendid Funeral seen; at least in the Opinion of Those who do not think that Magnificence consists in Gold, Ivory and Purple; (1) like one *Philistus*, who made a mighty Encomium on the Funeral of *Dionysius* the Tyrant, which, to speak properly, (2) was only like the pompous Catastrophe of a Bloody Tragedy, that is to say, of his Tyranny. *Alexander*, at the Death of *Hephestion*, did not only cut off the Mains of his Horses and Mules, but took down the Battlements from the Walls of Cities, that even the Towns might seem Mourners, and instead of their former beauteous Appearance look dejected at his Funeral: But (3) such kinds of Pomp and Magnificence being affected and forc'd,

(1) He was both an Historian and a Soldier. He had served under *Dionysius* the Elder, whose Life he wrote in six Books. He served likewise under *Dionysius* the younger; and having been defeated by *Dion*, killed himself. *Plutarch* censures him here very justly, for commending the Pomp of *Dionysius* the Tyrant's Funeral Solemnity, when he ought to have condemned and abhorred it.

(2) The Greek says, 'Twas only like the theatrical Exit of a deep Tragedy, which was his Tyranny. The Exit, or Catastrophe, is the concluding Part of a Tragedy, or the unravelling of the whole Affair. See the Remarks on the

twelfth Chapter of *Aristotle's Art of Poetry*. *Plutarch* uses it in the same Sense in his Life of *Alexander*; but in his Life of *Crassus*, he makes use of it in that Sense, in which it is taken by the Roman Authors; as may be seen in those Remarks, Vol. 5. p. 118.

(3) There are no real Honours of this Kind, but what the People pay freely and of their own Accord; such as proceed from an internal Principle of Love and Gratitude. Appointed Solemnities and Magnificence are not so much Honours done to the Deceased, as they are Marks of Servitude in Those that perform them.

are attended with Envy towards Him in whose Honour they are performed, and with Hatred against Him that commands them, and are far from being Proofs of a sincere Love and Esteem; and only shew the barbarous Pride, Luxury, and Vanity of Those who lavish their Own and Others Wealth to vain and contemptible Purposes. But that a Man of common Rank, dying in a strange Country, neither his Wife, Children nor Kinsmen present; none either desiring or ordering it, (1) should be attended, buried and crowned by so many Cities, that strove to exceed one another in the Demonstrations of their Love, seems to be the height of Happiness. For, as *Æsop* said, *Death to a good Man in the Time of his Prosperity is so far from being a Misfortune, that* (2) *'tis the greatest Happiness, because it secures to him the Glory of his virtuous Actions, and advances him above the Power of Fortune.* And that *Spartan's* Advice was still better, who embracing *Diagoras* after he Himself, his Sons and Grandsons had All conquer'd and been crowned in the *Olympick Games*, said to him, *Die, Diagoras, die quickly, for thou canst not be a God.* And yet is there any one that will pretend to compare all the Victories in the *Pythian* and *Olympick Games*, with One of those Enterprizes of *Pelopidas*, in All which he was constantly Victorious? So that after he had spent the greatest part of his Life in great and glorious

(1) With what a noble Simplicity does *Plutarch* here in two Lines set off the glorious Death of *Pelopidas*, and the Magnificence of his Funeral.

(2) This Observation is very just; and nothing but an unreasonable excessive Fondness of Life can contradict it. In *Terence's Eunuchus*, *Cherea*, inspired with

this Sentiment, cries out in a Transport of Joy,

Nunc tempus profecto est, cum perpoti me possum interfici,

Ne hoc gaudium contaminet vitæ agitudine aliqua.

This Moment would I be glad to die, that my present Joy may meet with no future Allay.

Act. III. Sc. v.

Actions,

Actions, and had been thirteen times named Governour of *Bæotia*, he died at last in a noble Attempt to extirpate Tyranny, and restore the Liberties of *Thessaly*?

If his Death brought great Grief, it brought greater Advantage to the Allies; for no sooner were the *Thebans* advertiz'd of it, but prompted by a Desire of Revenge they immediately sent to their Assistance an Army of seven thousand Foot, and seven hundred Horse, under the Command of *Malcitus* and *Diogiton*, who coming upon *Alexander* unexpectedly defeated his Army, and reduced him to such Straits, that they compelled him to restore those Cities he had taken from the *Thessalians*, to withdraw his Garrisons from the *Magnesiens*, *Phthiotæ* and *Achaïans*, to swear perpetual Obedience to the *Thebans*, and to make War against whatsoever Enemies They should command.

The *Thebans* were satisfied with these Conditions; but Punishment soon followed the Tyrant for his Wickedness, and the Death of *Pelopidas* was revenged in this manner.

He, as we mentioned before, had instructed *Thebe* not to be afraid of the exterior Shew and Equipage of Tyranny, notwithstanding she was surrounded by Janisaries and Out-laws, that were the Tyrant's Guards. She therefore fearing the Falshood, and hating the Cruelty of her Husband, conspired with (1) her three Brothers, *Tisiphonus*, *Pytholaus* and *Lycophron*, to kill him; and they put their Design in Execution after this manner: The whole Palace was full of Night Guards, except their Bed-Chamber, which was an upper Room, and before the Door lay a Dog in Chains to guard

(1) *Tisiphonus* was the eldest, and as such succeeded *Alexander* and reigned at the Time that *Xenophon* wrote the History of this Affair; but *Xenophon* died the Year following, which was the first or second Year of the hundred and fifth Olympiad.

it, which would fly At all but the Tyrant and his Wife, and one Slave that constantly fed him.

When the time for putting this Design in execution was come, *Thebe* hid her Brothers all Day in a Room hard by; and going alone in to *Alexander's* Chamber whilst he was asleep, as she used to do, she came out again in a little Time, and commanded the Slave to lead away the Dog, because her Husband had a mind to sleep without being disturb'd; and that the Stairs might make no Noise as her Brothers came up, she covered them with Wool. All things being thus prepared she fetched up her Brothers softly; and leaving them at the Door with Poniards in their Hands, went into the Chamber, and presently returned with the Tyrant's Cimiter, that hung at the head of his Bed, and shewed it them as a Confirmation that he was fast asleep. Being now upon the point of Execution, the young Men appeared terrified, and afraid to proceed; which so enraged *Thebe*, that she called them Cowards, and with bitter Oaths professed she would go and awake the Tyrant, and discover their whole Plot. When Shame and Fear had brought them to Themselves again, and they had resumed their former Resolution, she led them into the Chamber, and with a Light in her Hand conducted them to her Husband's Bed. One of them caught him fast by his Feet, Another by the Hair of his Head, while the Third stabbed him with his Poniard. His *Exit* may perhaps be thought too quick and easy for so cruel and detestable a Monster; but if it be considered (1) in all its Circumstances and Consequences, that he was the first Tyrant that ever fell by the Contrivance of his own Wife, and that his

(1) This Remark of *Plutarch* | Circumstances and Consequences
is very observable; Death it self he | that attend it. The Murder of the
counts nothing at all, but only the | *Phœrean* Tyrant he does not think
Punishment

PELOPIDAS.

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his dead Body was exposed to all kind of Indignities, spurn'd and troden under Foot by his Subjects, and left as a Prey for Dogs and Vultures; his Death will appear to carry with it a full and just Reward for his innumerable Oppressions and Cruelties.

Punishment sufficient for his Villanies; but to be murdered by the Contrivance of his own Wife, and to undergo all the Insults and Outrages of an exasperated People, and to be exposed at last as a Prey to

Dogs and Vultures; This he thinks a due Recompence for his past Crimes; for such an End has in all Ages been looked upon as a Punishment due to unjust and impious Men.



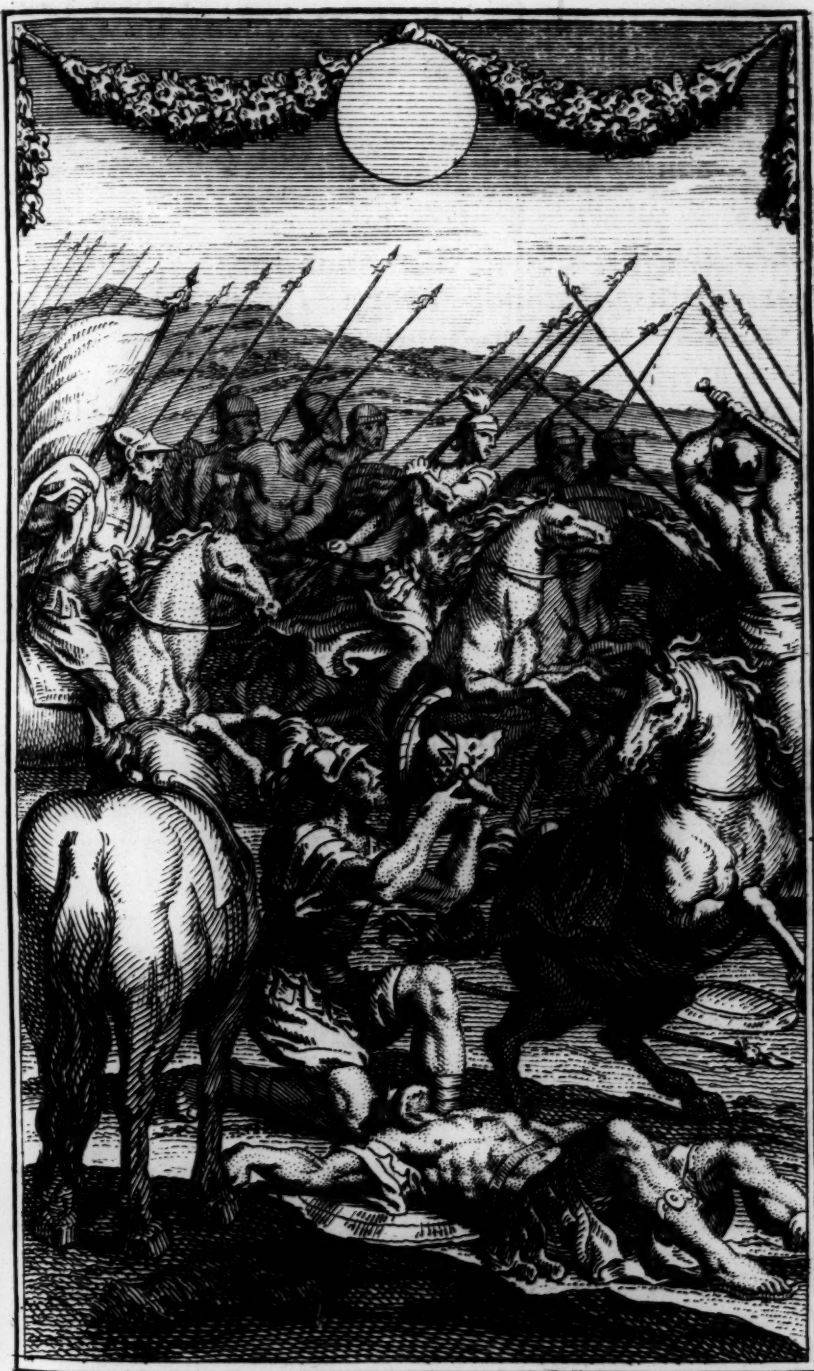
THE



THE
L I F E
O F
MARCELLUS.

M*Arcus Claudius*, who had been five times Consul, was the Son of *Marcus*, and the First of his Family that (1) was called *Marcellus*, that is to say, *Martial*; as *Posidonius* affirms: He was by long Experience skilful in the Art of War, and by Nature active, vigorous and daring. That haughty Fierceness his Courage inspired him with, he shewed only in Battel; on all other Occasions he was modest, courteous, and humane; and so fond of the *Grecian* Learning and Eloquence, that he admired and honoured All that excelled in them; but he did not make a Progress Himself, equal to his Desires, because his other Business and Employment took him

(1) The *Romans* were very fond from thence come the Names, of Names and Sir-names derived *Marcus, Marcius, Mamers, Mamercus*, from *Mars*, from whom they reckoned themselves descended; *cus*, and *Marcellus*.



L. Cheron Inv.

Vol. 3: p. 190.

C. F. Gucht Sculp.



off from a close Application. If ever God designed that Men

(1) *Shou'd lead their Lives in fierce and endless War,*

as *Homer* says, they were undoubtedly the *Romans* of those first Ages. In their Infancy they had the *Carthaginians* to contend with for *Sicily*; in their middle Age, the *Gauls* for *Italy* itself; and in their old Age they were obliged to contend again with the *Carthaginians* and *Hannibal*. Nor were they allow'd the common Privilege of Age to excuse 'em from the Wars, their Merits and Valour continually calling 'em forth to superior Commands.

As for *Marcellus*, he was admirably skill'd in all kinds of Fighting; but for single Combat, he had not his Equal. He never refused a Challenge, or mis'd killing Those that challenged him. In *Sicily*, seeing his Brother *Otacilius* once in Danger, he threw his Shield over him, slew all Those that overpower'd him, and so saved his Life. For That and other honourable Atchievements, he received from the Generals, while very young, Crowns and other Presents, as a Reward of his Valour and Bravery. His Virtues shining out more and more, and his Reputation daily encreasing, the People chose him *Ædilis Curulis*, and the Priests created him *Augur*. This is a Kind of Sacerdotal Office, to which the Law assigns the Superintendence of that

(1) This Passage of *Homer* is in the fourteenth Book of his *Iliads*, where *Ulysses* says to *Agamemnon*, who was advising the *Grecians* to fly,
Oh! were thy Sway the Curse of
meaner Powers,
And Thou the Shame of any Host
but Ours!

A Host by Jove endued with martial Might,
And taught to conquer, or to fall in fight:
Advent'rous Combats, and bold Wars to wage,
Employ'd our Youth, and yet employs our Age. Pope.

kind

kind of Augury or Prediction which is taken from the Flight of Birds.

During the Time of his being in the former of these Offices, contrary to his Inclination, he fell under a Necessity of bringing a criminal Accusation before the Senate. He had a Son of his own Name, who was very young, but of such extraordinary Beauty, Discretion, and Behaviour, that he was universally admired. *Capitolinus*, *Marcellus's* Collegue, a very insolent and vicious Man, fell in love with this Youth, and made an attempt upon him. At first, the Youth of Himself rejected all his Offers, without acquainting any Body; but finding he would not desist, but that he continued his Sollicitations, he discovered the Matter to his Father. *Marcellus* highly enraged at such an Affront, accused *Capitolinus* before the Senate. *Capitolinus* made use of all kind of Arts and Evasions to get Judgment deferred, and at last appealed from the Senate to the Tribunes. But They refusing to receive his Appeal, he defended himself by a flat Denial of the Charge. As there was no Witness of the Fact, *Capitolinus* having made his Attempt privately, and Alone, the Senate ordered the Youth Himself to be brought before them, and to be examined. As soon as ever he appeared, his Blushes, Tears, and Bashfulness, mixed with Indignation and Resentment, convinced 'em so far, that they required no further Proof; but condemned *Capitolinus* to pay a considerable Fine to *Marcellus*; which (1) he converted into

(1) To shew that this happened during the Time of his being *Ædilis Cursilis*; for 'twas the Duty of that Office to superintend every thing relating to Commerce. At the same time I confess myself a Stranger to the Word *Ἀργυρομορία*, and that I have never seen it any where else. I shou'd be for admitting the reading of a Manuscript which has it, *ἀργυρὰ λοιεῖα*, which he converted into Silver Cruets or Vases; *λοιεῖα* were little Vessels made use of in Sacrifices, and were likewise called *λοιεῖδες*, and *σπονδεῖα*.

a silver Exchange-Table, and consecrated it to the Gods.

(1) Scarce was the first *Punic* War ended, which had lasted two and twenty Years, before *Rome* became engaged in a new War against the *Gauls*. The *Insubrians*, a People of *Celtic* Extract, dwelling on this side the *Alps*, tho' very powerful in Themselves, applied to their Neighbours for Assistance, and particularly to Those called *Gasate*, from the heavy Darts or Javelins used by them in Fight, who served any Body for Pay. It seemed indeed strange, but yet was very fortunate for the *Romans*, that they did not happen to be engaged in this *Gallic* War, before That against the *Carthaginians* was concluded, but that the *Gauls* continued quiet all that time; as if they had really waited to take up the Conqueror, and would not attack the *Romans* 'till they were flush'd with Victory, and had no other Enemy to cope with. However, the near Neighbourhood as well as ancient Renown and Bravery of the *Gauls* struck the *Romans* with great

(1) *Plutarch* in this Place finds the Time a little. The first *Punic* War lasted four and twenty Years; for it began (in the four hundred and eighty-ninth from the building of *Rome*, and the Treaty with the *Carthaginians* was made in the five hundred and twelfth. The *Gauls* continued quiet all that Time, and did not begin to stir 'till four Years after. They advanced as far as *Arminium*, but the *Boians* mutinying against their Leaders, slew the Kings *Ates* and *Galates*; after which, falling out among themselves, and fighting against one another, sometimes one Party overcame, and sometimes Another, and They that were left alive returned home to their respective Abodes. Five Years after This,

the *Gauls* began to make Preparations for a new War, on Account of the Division which *Flaminius* had made of the Lands belonging to the *Picentines*, which he had taken from the *Senones* in *Gallicia Cisalpina*. These Preparations were carrying on a long time, and it was eight Years after that Division, before the War began in earnest under their Leaders *Congolitanus* and *Areoresles*, when *L. Æmilius Papus* and *C. Atilius Regulus* were Consuls, in the five hundred and twenty eighth Year of *Rome*, and the third Year of the one hundred and thirty eighth *Olympiad*. *Polyb. l. 2.* This Illustration was necessary to understand the Fact related here by *Plutarch*.

Terror; for they were indeed the Enemy they dreaded most, having not forgot how they had formerly made themselves Masters of *Rome*; from which Time it was provided by Law, that the Priests should be excused from taking Arms, except only to defend the City against the *Gauls*.

The vast Preparations made by the *Romans* on that Occasion, (for 'tis said so many thousand of 'em were never seen in Arms at once, either before or since) as well as their new and extraordinary Sacrifices, plainly shewed the Apprehensions they were under at that time. For tho' they had received none of the barbarous Rites or Customs of other Nations, had nothing cruel or inhuman in their divine Worship, but imitated the polite Manners of the *Greeks*, and had just and pious Sentiments of the Gods; yet at the Appearance of this War, in obedience to some Prophecies contained in the Books of the Sibyls, (1) they thought themselves obliged to bury alive, in That which is called the Beast-Market, two *Greeks*, a Man and a Woman, and likewise two *Gauls*, one of each Sex; which barbarous and abominable Sacrifices they continue to this Day, at which the People are not allowed to be present.

In the Beginning of this War, (2) the *Romans* sometimes gained very signal Victories, and were as often shamefully defeated; but neither good nor bad Success was available either to put a final

(1) They offered the same Sacrifice at the Beginning of the second *Punic* War, which followed This: For *Livy* mentions these two Sacrifices, *lib. xxii. 57. Interim ex fatalibus libris Sacrificia aliquot extraordinaria facta. inter qua Gallus & Galla, Græcus & Græca in Foro Boario sub terra vivi demissi sunt in locum saxo conspectum, ibi ante, hostiis humanis, minime Romano Sacro,*

imbutum. The Words *ibi, ante, &c.* refer to the Sacrifice that was offered at the Beginning of the War against the *Gauls*, which is here mentioned by *Plutarch*.

(2) *C. Atilius Regulus* was slain in a Battel; on the Enemy's Side *Congolitanus*, one of their Kings, was killed at the same Time, and *Areostes*, the other King, killed himself out of Despair.

Period

Period to the War, or so much as to bring on a Treaty, 'till C. Quintius Flaminius, and P. Furius Philo, being Consuls, marched against the Insubrians with a powerful Army. It was then reported that the River which runs through the Country of Picenum was turned into Blood, and (1) that three Moons were seen at Ariminum at the same time. The Priests, whose Business it was to observe the Flying of Birds at the time of making their Consuls, declared that the Election of those Two was unduly and inauspiciously made, (2) and had ill Omens attending it. Hereupon the Senate dispatched Letters to the Army forthwith, expressly forbidding the Consuls to attempt any thing against the Enemy in that Capacity, and enjoining 'em to return with all Speed to Rome, in order to lay down their Office.

Flaminius having received these Letters, (3) deferred opening them 'till he had fought and defeated the

(1) Plin. l. 2. c. 32. Luna quatuor trina ut Cn. Domitio, Cajo Fannio Coss. apparere, quos plerique appellaverunt Soles Nocturnos. And Julius Obsequens c. 92. Cneo Domitio, Cajo Fannio Coss. in Gallia tres Soles & tres Luna visa. There is nothing very surprizing in this Phenomenon; the Appearance of several Suns and Moons is owing to the same Cause. Pliny writes that never more than three Suns had been seen at once before his Time; but that must certainly proceed from Want of due Observation. Gassendus tells us that in 1625, Six were seen in Poland. Schenerus observes, that on the 20th Day of March, 1629, Five were seen at Rome; and on the 24th Day of January, in the following Year, Seven were seen at once; and he adds, there is no Rea-

son to the contrary, but that there may be seen to the Number of eleven at the same Time. And 'tis the same as to Moons.

(2) I have observed more than once before that Plutarch often makes use of Poetical Words to make his Style more lively and agreeable. Here he has the Word δύσσορρις, which is not in common Use, which he borrowed from Æschylus in his Tragedy of the seven Leaders against Thebes, v. 844.

Ἡ δύσσορρις ἀδὲ
ξυνάυλια δόρος.

(3) What Flaminius did on this Occasion, in deferring to open the Letters sent by the Senate, 'till he had put in Execution what he had before projected, has been imitated in our Times by a great General.

the Enemy, and ravaged their whole Country; after which he marched towards *Rome*: and tho' he carried a prodigious Booty home with him, yet none of the People went out to meet him, but had like to have denied him the Honour of a Triumph, because he did not instantly obey the Commands of the Senate, but slighted and despised their Orders. And as soon as ever the Triumph was ended, both He and his Colleague were deposed from their Office, and reduced to the Condition of private Citizens: Such a Respect had the *Romans* for Religion, making all their Affairs depend solely on the Pleasure of the Gods; never suffering, (1) no not in their greatest Prosperity, the least Neglect or Contempt of their ancient Rites or Oracles; being fully persuaded that it was of much greater Importance to the Publick Welfare that their Magistrates and Generals should reverence and obey the Gods, than if they conquered and subdued their Enemies. For this Reason it was, that *Tiberius Sempronius*, who for his Fortitude and other Virtues was so highly beloved and esteemed by the *Romans*, when he was Consul, chose *Scipio Nasica* and *Caius Marcius Figulus* his Successors.

When these two Consuls were gone into their respective Provinces, *Sempronius* (2) happening by Chance

But this is a Conduct fit only for such extraordinary Persons, who know of a certainty when an Opportunity offers for some great Exploit, and are sure of Success. As for the Victory the *Romans* obtained at that Time, it was wholly owing to the Prudence of the Tribunes and the Bravery of the Soldiers; for *Flaminius* the Consul had been guilty of an Error, that might very well have occasioned the Loss of the Battel. He had drawn up his Army on the Bank

of a River, and left no Space behind to give them Room to rally, in case they had been obliged to give way; so that, if the Enemy had pushed them hard, they must have been driven into the River. *Polyb. l. 2.*

(1) This is a very high Commendation; for in Time of Prosperity, every thing goes to Rack, Manners, Laws, Religion, &c.

(2) In the Original, τῶν στρατηματικῶν ὑπομνήμασιν, Regulations relating to the Armies; but

I have

Chance to light upon some Books containing Regulations and Directions relating to sacred Rites and Customs, he found out somewhat he never knew before, which was this; *Whenever the Magistrate went out of the City, and sat down in a House or Tabernacle hired for that Purpose, to observe the Flight of Birds, if it happened for any Cause whatsoever that he was obliged to return into the City before he had finished his Observations, he was not to make use of that Lodge again, but to take another, and from thence begin his Observations anew.* Sempronius was ignorant of this Particularity, when he named those two Consuls, for he had twice made use of the same Tabernacle. But when he came afterwards to understand his Mistake, he declared it to the Senate, who, as trifling as that Circumstance might seem to be, immediately wrote to the Consuls; who, leaving their Provinces, returned to Rome, and resigned the Consulship. But these Things happened afterwards. At the same time, two Priests of the best Families in Rome, *Cornelius Cethegus* and *Quintus Sulpicius*, were degraded from the Priesthood; the former for not having exposed in proper Form the Entrails of a Beast slain in Sacrifice; and the latter, because, while he was sacrificing, the Tuft, that the Priests, called *Flamens*, wear on the Top of their Caps, fell off. Because a Rat was heard to cry the very Moment that (1) *Minucius* the Dictator named *Caius Flaminius* General of the Horse, the People obliged them Both to

I have followed the Reading of a Manuscript which has it *ἱερατευτικαῖς ὑπομνήμασιν*. Those Memoirs that *Sempronius* read, did not relate only to martial Affairs, but to the sacred Customs and Rules observed by the Augurs in the Discharge of the Duties of their Office, and were a kind of

Rituals, in which was particularly set down whatever related to the Election of Magistrates, and all other Affairs; and by which all particular Cases that might happen, were to be determined.

(1) *Plutarch* is mistaken in this Place; for *Q. Fabius Maximus* was Dictator, and not *Minucius*.

quit their Posts, and chose Others in their stead: And by this Nicety and Exactitude in the most minute Circumstances, they kept free from Superstition, observing only their antient Customs, (1) without Change or Innovation.

Flaminius and his Collegue being thus deposed from the Consulate, the Roman Magistrates, (2) called *Inter-reges*, chose *Marcellus* in their Room; who, as soon as he had entered upon his Office, chose *Cn. Cornelius* for his Collegue. The Gauls sent Ambassadors to propose a Treaty of Peace, and the Senate seemed inclined to it, but *Marcellus* excited the People, and made 'em determine for War. However, after many Difficulties, a Peace was at last concluded; which, 'tis said, the *Gesatae* broke soon after; who, to the number of thirty thousand, passing the *Alps*, joined the *Insubrians*, who were still more numerous; and relying on their Numbers, advanced boldly as far as (3) *Acerre*, a City, situated between the *Po* and the *Alps*, that was besieged by the Romans. From thence King *Vivodomarus* taking with him ten thousand of the *Gesatae*, ravaged the whole Country near the *Po*.

Marcellus having received an Account of their March, left his Collegue *Scipio* before *Acerre*, with the light and heavy-armed Infantry, and a third Part of the Horse; and taking with him the rest of the Horse, and six hundred of the lightest Foot,

(1) True Religion always keeps strictly to ancient Usages and Customs, and Superstition always advances by making Alterations or Additions; But yet were not all those trifling Niceties here mentioned, tho' ancient, plain and evident Superstitions?

(2) These were Magistrates appointed in an *Inter-regnum*, to name a King; and in the times of the Republick, when there were no

legal Officers in being, these *Inter-reges* had a right of naming them.

(3) This Passage has been misunderstood, for they were the Romans, and not the Gauls, that besieged *Acerre*. The Gauls not being able to relieve the Place, passed the *Po* with Part of their Army, and laid Siege to *Clasidium*, to make a Diversion. *V. Polyb. l. 2. p. 121.*

he pursued the ten thousand *Gesate* Night and Day without Intermission; 'till at last he came up with them near *Clasfidium*, a small Town belonging to the *Gauls*, which a little before had been brought under Subjection to the *Romans*. He had not time to refresh his Troops, or give them Rest; for the *Barbarians* were soon advertized of his Arrival; and seeing the small Number of his Foot, and making little Account of his Horse, reckoned themselves secure of Victory. For These, as well as all the other *Gauls*, 'being excellent Horsemen, thought they had the Advantage in that respect, and especially finding themselves superior in Number to *Marcellus*. Full therefore of Rage and Fury, they march directly against him, sending forth mighty Menaces, as tho' they had been sure of carrying their Point without opposition; *Viridomarus* their King riding in great State at the Head of his Army. *Marcellus*, because his Troops were but few, that they might not be encompassed by the Enemy, extended his Wings of Horse, thinning and widening them by degrees, 'till at last his Front was very nigh equal to That of the Enemy.

When he had done This, and was advancing to the Charge, his Horse, frightened at the Bravadoes and Noise of the *Gauls*, turned short all on a sudden, and in spite of all his Endeavours to the contrary, carried him back. *Marcellus* fearing that this Motion might be superstitiously taken for an ill Omen, and so dishearten his Men, took his Horse by the Bridle and turned him quite round, and so returning to his former Station, adored the Sun; making Them believe that his wheeling about was not an involuntary Accident, but a designed Act of Devotion; for it was customary with the *Romans* to turn round when they worshipped the Gods. When he was upon the very point of engaging

gaging with the *Gauls*, he made a Vow, that he would consecrate to *Jupiter Feretrius* the best of the Arms that should be taken from the Enemy. At that very Instant the King of the *Gauls* spying him, and guessing from the Ensigns of Authority that he was the *Roman* General, spurred his Horse with all his Might, and brandishing his Spear on high, loudly challenged him to the Combat. He was a well-made Man, exceeding the Rest of the *Gauls* in Stature, and had on that day a Suit of Armour, adorned with Gold and Silver, and heightened with Purple and the most lively Painting, so that it shone like Lightning. Whilst *Marcellus* was viewing the Disposition of the Enemy's Forces, he cast his Eyes upon that Armour, and concluded from the Richness of them, that Those were the Arms he had vowed to *Jupiter*: Whereupon he rode against Him with all his Might, and with his Spear pierced his Breastplate; the Violence of the Stroke, which received a double Force from the Weight and Swiftnes of the Horse, was so great, that it overset the King, and threw him on the Ground. *Marcellus* pursuing his Blow, at the second or third Stroke killed him outright: then leaping from his Horse, he disarmed him, and taking his Arms and lifting them up towards Heaven, said, O *Jupiter Feretrius*, who from on high beholdest the bold Exploits and Atchievements of renowned Captains and Commanders in the Day of Battel, in thy Presence have I a General slain a General, I a Consul slain a King with my own Hand: To Thee I consecrate these first and most excellent of the Spoils; do thou be propitious, and crown our Actions with the like Success in the Prosecution of this War.

When he had finished his Prayer, the *Roman* Horse began the Charge, encountering both the Enemy's Horse and Foot at the same time; and, notwithstanding the Inequality of their Numbers, obtained

tained a Victory compleat in its Kind, and almost incredible in its Circumstances. For never before or since did a handful of Horse give so entire a Defeat to such a superior Force, both of Horse and Foot, that were then drawn up in Battel against them. *Marcellus* having slain the greatest Part of the Enemy, and taken all their Arms and Baggage, marched back to join his Colleague, (1) who had not such good Success in his Undertaking against the *Gauls* before *Milan*, which is a very large City, well inhabited, and the Capital of all that Country. The *Gauls* defended this Place with such Obstinacy and Resolution, that *Scipio*, instead of besieging it, seemed rather besieged himself. But upon the Return of *Marcellus*, the *Gesatæ* understanding that their King was slain, and his Army defeated, withdrew their Forces in all haste, and so *Milan* was taken, and the *Gauls* delivered up their other Cities to the *Romans*, who granted 'em a Peace on reasonable Conditions.

The Senate made a Decree, that only *Marcellus* should have the Honour of a Triumph; which, for the Quantity and Richness of the Spoils, the Number and Stature of the Captives, and the Pomp and Magnificence of all Kinds, was one of the finest and most surprizing that had ever been seen. But the most rare and agreeable Sight of all was *Marcellus* himself, bearing in Triumph the compleat Armour of the vanquished *Barbarian*, which he had vowed to *Jupiter*. He had prepared a Bearer shaped like a Trophy out of the Stock of a tall strait

(1) *Scipio* his Colleague took *A-cerra*; whereupon the *Gauls*. retreating to *Milan*, *Scipio* pursued 'em; but in his Return back met with a Misfortune; which, however he soon repaired. The *Gauls* fell upon his Rear, which they cut to Pieces, and routed Part of his Ar-

my. But *Scipio* turning short upon 'em, stopp'd the Runaways, wrested the Victory the *Gauls* had won out of their Hands, and marching back to *Milan*, took it by Storm. And there it was that *Marcellus* joined him.

Oak. To This he fastened the Armour in a circular Form, disposing every Part in an apt and natural Order. When the Procession began to move, he ascended his triumphal Chariot, and pass'd through the City with the Trophy on his Shoulders, which represented a Man in Armour, and was the noblest Ornament of the whole Triumph. The Army closed the Procession with glittering Arms and burnished Armour, singing Songs of Triumph, and in Hymns of Victory celebrating the Praises of *Jupiter* and their General.

Being arrived in this Order at the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, he there fixed and dedicated his Trophy, being the Third, and, as yet, the Last of any Roman General that claimed that Honour. The First was *Romulus*, after he had slain *Acron* King of the *Cæninenses*; *Cornelius Cossus*, who slew *Volumnius* the *Tuscan*, was the Second; and the Third and last was *Marcellus*. The God to whom they consecrated these Spoils, was *Jupiter*, surnamed *Feretrius*, from the Greek Word *Feretrum*, signifying a Car, or Bearer, on which the Trophy was born in Triumph; the Greek Language being at that time very much mixt with the *Latin*. Others affirm that *Feretrius* signifies the same as *Thunderer*, being deriv'd à *feriendo*; and as nothing strikes with greater Violence than Thunder, so to strike is in the *Roman* Language *ferire*. Lastly there are Others who will have it that this Name is taken from the Strokes given in Battel; for even now when the *Romans* charge or pursue an Enemy, they by way of Encouragement call out to one another, *feri, feri*, that is to say, *strike, kill*. They gave the general Name of *Spoils* to whatever is taken from the Enemy in War; but Those which their General took from the Chief Commander of the Enemy's Army, after he had slain him with his own Hands, had the particular Appellation of *rich* or *Opimo*

Opime Spoils. But notwithstanding This, some Authors write that *Numa Pompilius* in his Commentaries makes Mention of First, Second, and Third *Opime Spoils*, and orders that the First should be consecrated to *Jupiter Feretrius*, the Second to *Mars*, and the Third to *Quirinus*; as also that the Reward of the First should be three hundred *Asses*, of the Second two hundred, and of the Third a hundred. But the most general and commonly received Opinion is, that the only honourable Spoils that deserve the name of *Opime*, are those which the General takes in a pitch'd Battel, and from the Enemy's General, whom he has slain with his own Hand. But of this Matter enough.

This Victory and the Conclusion of the War caus'd so much Joy among the *Roman* People, that they ordered a Golden Cup to be made and presented to *Apollo* at *Delphi*, as a Testimony of their Gratitude; and divided a great Part of the Booty among the Confederate Cities that had sided with them, and likewise sent considerable Presents to *Hiero* King of *Syracuse*, their Friend and Ally.

Some time after This, *Hannibal* having made an Irruption into *Italy*, *Marcellus* was sent with a Fleet to *Sicily*: And two Years after happened the unfortunate Defeat at *Cannæ*, in which many thousands of the *Romans* were slain, and the Few that escaped, retired to *Cannusum*; and it was very much feared, that *Hannibal*, when he had thus destroyed the Strength of the *Roman* Forces, would march directly with his victorious Troops to *Rome*. Whereupon *Marcellus* sent fifteen hundred of his Men by Sea to guard the City; and by order of the Senate repaired to *Cannusum*; where having put himself at the Head of those Troops that had retired thither after the Battel, he brought them all out of their Intrenchments, being resolved to defend the flat Country.

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The Wars had by this time carried off the chief of the *Roman* Nobility, and most of their greatest Captains were fallen in Battel. They had still left a very extraordinary Person, *Fabius Maximus*, a Man of singular Worth and great Capacity. But his mighty Precaution and over-great Sollicitude to avoid the least Risque or Loss, pass'd for a Defect in Courage, and Slowness in Execution. Looking upon Him therefore as a Person proper to provide for their Defence, but by no means fit to attack an Enemy, they applied themselves to *Marcellus*; and wisely mixing and tempering his active Forwardness and daring Courage with the slow cautious Conduct of *Fabius*, they often chose them Consuls together, and sometimes sent them, One as Consul, and the Other as Pro-consul, against the Enemy. For this Reason 'twas, as *Posidonius* writes, that *Fabius* was called the *Buckler*, and *Marcellus* the *Sword* of the *Roman* State. And *Hannibal* himself used to say, *he stood in Fear of Fabius as his School-master, and of Marcellus as his Adversary*; for the Last would hurt him, but the Former only hinder him from doing Hurt.

Hannibal's Soldiers, after their Victory, growing dissolute and careless, neglected all manner of Discipline, and often straggled in Parties about the Country in search of Plunder; where *Marcellus* fell upon 'em frequently, and cut off great Numbers, and so by little and little diminished the Enemy's Forces. After This, he went to the Assistance of *Naples* and *Nola*, and having encouraged the *Neapolitans*, and confirmed 'em in the good Disposition they were in towards the *Romans*, he entered *Nola*, where he found great Divisions, the Senate being unable to restrain the People, who were strongly in the Interest of *Hannibal*. There was in the Town a Person highly renown'd for his personal Valour as well as Nobility of Birth, whose
Name

Name was *Bandius*, who had remarkably distinguished himself at the Battel of *Cannæ*; where, after having slain a great Number of *Carthaginians*, he at last lay upon a Heap of dead Bodies, sorely wounded. *Hannibal* finding him in this Condition, not only took Care of him, and entertained him with great Hospitality, but contracted a Friendship with him, dismissed him without any Ranson at all, and at his Departure loaded him with Presents. *Bandius* out of Gratitude, and in return for so many Favours, espoused *Hannibal's* Interest with great Zeal, and endeavoured all he could to bring over the People to his side. *Marcellus* thought it unjust and wicked to put so eminent a Man to Death, who had fought so often for the *Romans*, and exposed his Life in their Cause. For besides great Probity and Humanity, *Marcellus* had so much Affability and Sweetness of Behaviour, as must needs win upon and gain the Affection of all the World, and especially of an ambitious Man: Wherefore one Day when *Bandius* went to visit him, *Marcellus* ask'd him who he was; not that he was unacquainted with him before, but to gain an Opportunity to introduce what he had a Mind to say; and when *Bandius* had told him his Name, *Marcellus* pretending to be surprized with Joy and Wonder, said to him, *How! art Thou the Bandius so much talked of at Rome for his brave Behaviour at the Battel of Cannæ; who not only did not desert Paulus Emilius the Consul, but even received into his Body several Arrows aim'd at that General? Bandius* owning himself to be that very Person, and shewing his Wounds and Scars; *Why then, said Marcellus, since you have given Us so many Proofs of your Friendship, wou'd you not give me the Pleasure of seeing You at my first Arrival? Do you think Us ungrateful, or ignorant, how to reward the Bravery of our Friends, We, who know how to value and esteem it even in our Enemies? When*

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he

he had ended this obliging Discourse, he embraced him, and made him a Present of a fine War Horse, and five hundred *Drachma's* in Silver: From that time forwards, *Bandius* never left him, but appeared very zealous in discovering the Designs, and giving Informations against Those of the contrary Party. These were indeed very numerous, and had form'd a Conspiracy, when the *Romans* were gone out of the City to fight the Enemy, to shut the Gates, to plunder all their Waggon and Baggage, and to surrender themselves to the *Carthaginians*.

Marcellus being advertised of this Conspiracy, drew up his Army in order of Battel within the City, placed the Baggage in the Rear, and published an Order by sound of Trumpet, forbidding any of the Inhabitants to appear upon the Walls. By this Means *Hannibal* was deceived; for seeing the Walls quite abandoned, he did not doubt but there was a great Sedition in the City, and in that Confidence marched to it with the less Order and Precaution. At that very Moment *Marcellus* commanded that Gate of the City that was directly before 'em to be opened; and issuing out with the Choice of his Horse, he charged the Enemy in Front, and routed them. The very next Moment, (1) a second Gate was opened, through which

(1) *Plutarch* manages *Marcellus's* Sallies here as a Poet does his Surprizes in a Tragedy. *Livy* relates the Matter somewhat after a different, and more probable Manner, xxiii. 16. He says *Marcellus* ranged his Army in order of Battel within the City over-against three Gates that faced the Enemy; that over-against the middle Gate he placed the Legions and the Roman Horse, and that over-against the two other Gates,

on the right and left, he placed the new-raised Soldiers, the light-arm'd, and the Allies Cavalry; and that he placed the Baggage behind with a Body to guard it. When the Enemy drew near, *Marcellus* commanded the middle Gate to be opened at once, the Trumpets to sound the Charge, and the Troops to shout aloud; then ordered the Foot to march out first, and afterwards the Horse. The main Body of *Hannibal's* Army being put in-

which the Infantry poured forth with loud Shouts and Huzza's. And as *Hannibal* was going to divide his Troops to make Head against these last, a third Gate was opened, at which brake forth all the rest of the *Roman* Forces, who fell furiously upon the Enemy, surprized at this unexpected Sallery, and who made but a faint Resistance against Those with whom they had been first engaged, by reason of their being warmly attack'd by a second Body.

This was the first time *Hannibal's* Troops fled before the *Roman* Legions, and suffered themselves to be driven back to their Camp in great Consternation, and with prodigious Havock; for *Hannibal* is said to have lost more than five thousand Men, and *Marcellus* not above five hundred. *Livy* does not make this Defeat, or the Numbers slain on the Enemy's Side, to be so considerable; he only allows that this Success raised the Glory of *Marcellus* very high, and inspired the *Romans* with new Courage in the midst of their Misfortunes, by letting them see that the Enemy they fought against was neither invulnerable nor invincible. (1) A Person that had been designed Consul for the ensuing Year happening to be slain, the People called home

to some Disorder by the first Charge, *Marcellus's* Lieutenants at the same time issued out at the other two Gates, and fell furiously upon both Wings of the Enemy's Army, &c.

(1) This was *L. Posthumius Albinus*, designed for Consul with *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, but was slain with his whole Army, by the *Gauls*, and after a very particular manner. He being obliged to pass through a certain Forest called the *Litanean Forest*, the *Gauls* had cut all the Trees in it near the Road he was to pass, after such a man-

ner, that they still continued standing, but with the least Motion would all of them tumble down.

When *Albinus* was in the Forest engaged with his Army, consisting of twenty five thousand Men, the *Gauls*, who lay hid, set the Trees that were near them a moving, which falling on the next to them, and they on the next, and so on, they all tumbled down almost at the very same time, overwhelming and killing both Men and Horses. Those that escaped this Snare were killed by the *Gauls*, among

home *Marcellus*, (1) who was absent at that time, to fill his Place, and, in spite of the Magistrates, caused the Election to be deferred 'till his Return. As soon as he arrived he was unanimously chosen Consul; but it happening to thunder at that time, the Augurs plainly saw that the Election was not right, but yet durst not oppose it openly for fear of the People; however *Marcellus* laid it down voluntarily: But this did not hinder him from continuing the Command of the Army, for he was elected Proconsul, and returned with all Speed to *Nola*, where (2) he chastised all Those that had declared for the *Carthaginians* in his Absence. *Hannibal* made Haste to their Assistance, and offered *Marcellus* Battel, which he refused: But some Days after, (3) when he found that *Hannibal*, no longer expecting a Battel, had sent the greatest Part of his Army to forrage and plunder, he attacked him vigorously, having first furnished his Foot with a kind of large Quarter-staffs, such as are used on Ship-board, and likewise taught them how to wound the Enemy with them at a distance; while the *Car-*

among whom was the Consul himself. The *Gauls* cut off his Head, and emptying his Skull, tip'd and set it in Gold, to be used for Libations at their Feasts. *Livy* xxiii. 24. This happened some Months after the Battel at *Canna*.

(1) The Senate having sent him into *Campania* to exchange Armies, the People believed they had sent him away on purpose that he might not be present at the Election, and therefore were resolved to defer it 'till his Return. *Livy* xxiii. 13.

(2) He immediately caused the Heads of seventy of the Inhabitants of *Nola* to be cut off, and

their Estates confiscated to the use of the Roman State. *Plutarch* speaks here of the Ravages committed by *Marcellus* in the Country of the *Hirpini* and *Sammites*, where he destroyed every thing with Fire and Sword. *Liv.* xxiii. 41.

(3) Two Days before this Battel there was a bloody Fight before the Walls of *Nola*; for *Hannibal* coming up to make a general Attack upon the City, *Marcellus* sally'd out, and overthrew All that opposed him. The Dispute had been very sharp had not a violent Storm happened that separated the Combatants. *Liv.* xxiii. 44.

thaginians

ibaginians (1) fought only with very short Swords, or Darts, which they were unskilled in throwing. For this Reason all Those that attempted to make head against them were forced to turn their Backs, and fled in Confusion, (2) leaving five thousand slain upon the Field of Battel; besides four Elephants, two killed, and two taken alive. But what was of still greater Consequence, (3) above three hundred Horse, *Spaniards* and *Numidians*, came over to *Marcellus*; a Misfortune which had never befallen *Hannibal* 'till that time: for tho' his Army was composed of Men of several barbarous Nations, as different in their Manners as Language, he had ever 'till then preserved a good Understanding and strict Concord among them. These three hundred Horse always continued inviolably faithful to *Marcellus*, and the Generals that commanded after him.

(1) Here we find the *Carthaginians* had only short Swords. We have observed in the Life of *Lycurgus*, that the *Spartans* had such short Swords, that they used to jest and say, the Juglers swallowed them on their Stages. The Blades of Those used by the *Romans* were not above fourteen or fifteen Inches long, and Those of the *Gauls* were not much longer. From whence then came the long Swords now in use, with which they kill the Enemy, without coming close to, or grappling with him? *Plutarch* somewhere mentions the long Swords of the *Cimbri*. This Custom is certainly derived from those People that fought on Camels and Dromedaries, and who must of necessity use long Swords; for short ones would

have been of no use to them.

(2) There were more than five thousand Men killed. Six hundred Prisoners were taken, eighteen Standards, and four Elephants, besides two Elephants that were killed. On the *Roman* Side there were not a thousand slain. *Liv.* xxiii. 46.

(3) *Livy* makes them a thousand two hundred and seventy two, which seems more probable, and is the Number that, I think, ought to be settled in this Place. For methinks *Plutarch* would never have said, *what was of still greater Consequence*, for the sake of three hundred Men. Five thousand slain, six hundred Prisoners, and all the other Marks of a complete Victory, are certainly much more considerable.

The L I F E of

(1) *Marcellus* being a third time created Consul, passed over into *Sicily*; for *Hannibal's* great Success had so swell'd the Hopes of the *Carthaginians* that they entertained Thoughts of re-conquering that Island; and especially since (2) the Death of the Tyrant *Hieronimus* had thrown every thing into Confusion at *Syracuse*; (3) wherefore the *Romans* had already sent an Army thither under the Command of *Appius Claudius*.

(1) In the second Year of the 141st Olympiad, the 539th Year of *Rome*; and 212 Years before the Birth of Christ. *Plutarch* forgets here a third Victory that *Marcellus* gained over *Hannibal* before *Nola*. Having learn'd that *Hannibal* was marching again towards that Place, he resolv'd to meet him: in order to this, he caus'd *Claudius Nero* to march with the Horse by Night out at the Gate that was opposite to the Way *Hannibal* was to come; and having taken a great Circuit to return back, and follow *Hannibal*; and when he saw the Battel begun, to attack him in the Rear. 'Tis not known whether *Nero* lost his Way in the Night, or whether he had not Time enough to execute this Order; but had he come up at the time appointed, *Hannibal* had been entirely defeated. *Marcellus* indeed had already beaten him himself, but not having Horse enough, he durst not pursue him, and therefore founded a Retreat. *Hannibal* lost above two thousand Men, and the *Romans* less than four hundred. *Nero* returned to *Nola* in the Evening, after having fatigued his Troops to no purpose, without seeing the Enemy. *Marcellus* expostulated severely with him, and said that it was wholly owing to Him that

the *Romans* had not that Day made Reprisal upon *Hannibal* for the Loss they sustained at the Battel of *Canna*. Liv. xxvi. 17.

(2) *Hieronimus* was murdered by his own Subjects at *Leontium*. He was the Son of *Gelo*, and the Grandson of *Hiero*. His Father *Gelo* died first, and afterwards his Grandfather, being ninety Years old; and *Hieronimus*, who was not then fifteen, was slain some Months after. These three Deaths happened towards the latter End of the Year that preceded *Marcellus's* third Consulship. *Livy* gives a fine Description of the Wisdom of the Grandfather, and of the Folly of the Grandson. xxiv. 5, 6.

(3) They had sent *Appius Claudius* thither in Quality of Prætor. He was there before the Death of *Hieronimus*, who laugh'd at the Ambassadors that came from *Rome*, to confirm the Alliance between Him and the *Romans*. What Success had ye, said he, at the Battel of *Canna*? *Hannibal's* Ambassadors tell me strange things about it: I would fain know the Truth, that I may see what to resolve on. A bold Answer enough for a Prince not fifteen Years old.

As soon as *Marcellus* had taken upon him the Command of the Army in *Sicily*, a great Number of *Romans* came and threw themselves at his Feet, imploring his Assistance under their unhappy Circumstances. Of Those that fought at the Battel at *Canne*, Some fled, and the Rest were taken Prisoners; and these Latter were so many in Number, that it was said, the *Romans* had not Men enough left to defend the Walls of their City. But yet they had so much Bravery and Greatness of Soul left, that when *Hannibal* offered to release the Prisoners for a very inconsiderable Ransom, they not only refused it, but without giving themselves any further Trouble about them, left them to be kill'd by the Enemy, or sold out of *Italy*; and Those who had saved themselves by Flight they transported into *Sicily*, with an express Command not to return home 'till the War with *Hannibal* was ended.

When *Marcellus* was arrived in that Island, great Numbers of these unfortunate Men addressed to Him, and falling on their Knees before him, with the deepest Lamentations and Floods of Tears begged to be admitted into the Troops, firmly promising to make it appear by their future Behaviour that That Defeat was owing to some Misfortune, and not to their Cowardise. Whereupon *Marcellus*, out of Compassion, wrote to the Senate, desiring Leave to recruit his Troops out of those Exiles, as he should have Occasion. The Senate deliberated a long time about the Matter, and at length, after mature Consideration, returned this Answer, *That the Roman Affairs were not reduced to that Extremity, as to stand in need of the Assistance of Cowards; but however, if Marcellus had a mind, he might make use of them, (1) provided he did not bestow*

(1) This Severity of the Senate | sperate State of their Affairs at that
seems strange, considering the de- | time; but That perhaps was the
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bestow on any of them, (whatever they might deserve) a Crown, or any other Gift, as a Reward of their Valour.

This Answer, which the Senate had passed into a Decree, gave *Marcellus* great Uneasiness; and at his Return to *Rome*, after the War was ended, he expostulated and complained to Them, that after all his Services, they had refused him the Favour to retrieve the Honour, and alleviate the Misfortunes of those poor Citizens.

His first Care, after he came into *Sicily*, was to be revenged on (1) *Hippocrates*, the *Syracusan* General, for his Treachery; who, to shew his Affection to the *Carthaginians*, and by their Means to make himself absolute Lord and Tyrant of all *Sicily*, had, contrary to the Faith of Treaties, attack'd the *Romans* near *Leontium*, and slain great Numbers of them. *Marcellus* therefore marched with his whole Army to besiege that City, and took it by Storm; but offered no manner of Injury or Violence to the Inhabitants, or any Soldiers, except only such Deserters as he found there, whom he ordered to be beaten with Rods, and then put to Death. *Hippocrates* presently sent an Account of This to *Syracuse*, with a large Addition of his own, that *Marcellus* had put both Soldiers and Citizens to the Sword without Distinction, that he had spared None that were able to bear Arms, and had

sole Reason of This their Conduct. What Effect must so mortifying an Example produce among the Troops? The *Romans* were sure of reaping more Advantage from the Severity of this Decree, than from the Services of all those Soldiers, if they had been receiv'd again into the Legions.

(1) This *Hippocrates* and his Brother *Epicyles* were *Carthaginians* by Birth, but originally from *Syracuse*, from whence their Grand-

father had been banished; and so settled at *Carthage*, where he married. *Hannibal* sent these two Brothers, with a *Carthaginian* of noble Extraction, whose Name was *Hannibal*, Ambassadors to *Syracuse*. This last returned quickly with the Treaty they had made with the Tyrant; but the two Others, by *Hannibal's* Consent, continued still at his Court as Ambassadors in ordinary.

likewise

likewise plundered the City; and while the *Syracusians* were under the utmost Fear and Consternation, occasioned by this News, (1) He came suddenly upon them and surprised the City.

Hereupon *Marcellus* marched with his whole Army, and encamping near *Syracuse*, sent Ambassadors thither (2) to acquaint the Inhabitants with the whole Truth of what had happened at *Leontium*: But finding that all he could say was to no purpose, and that the *Syracusians*, either prepossessed in Favour, or aw'd by the Power of *Hippocrates*, refused to listen to him, he prepared to attack the City both by Sea and Land. *Appius Claudius* commanded the Land Forces, while *Marcellus* with sixty Gallies, each having five Oars in a Seat, provided with all kind of Arms and missile Weapons, and a terrible Machine carried upon eight Gallies fastened together, attacked it by Sea; animated with great Hopes by the Number of his Batteries, the Vastness of his Preparations, and especially by the great Reputation he had acquired in War. But *Archimedes* despised all his Machines and Preparations, which were nothing in comparison to those Engines he invented daily, which he offered, (3) not as Master-pieces, or Things of great Value, but only by way of

(1) Before he arrived at *Syracuse* he met with several Obstacles and Difficulties, which he overcame. When he seized on the City he obliged the *Syracusians* to name Himself and his Brother Prætors. Liv. xxiv. 30, &c.

(2) *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* did not suffer them to enter the City, but went Themselves out of it to meet and speak with them.

(3) Nothing more fully demonstrates the incredible Pleasures that Geometry, when her Speculations

are purely intellectual, gives to a truly great and elevated Soul, or the infinite Advantage of Such over Others that employ her only in sensible and material Objects, than the mean Opinion this Geometrician had of those wonderful and highly useful Machines which he invented, and which were for a long time the sole Defence and Security of his Country. The Former a manner wholly divine, the Latter terrestrial and corporeal.

Amusement and Diversion in his Geometrical Studies. Neither had he gone so far, but at the earnest Request of *Hiero*, who had a long time solicited him to reduce his Speculations into Practice, by employing them about corporeal and sensible Things, and to make his abstracted Reasonings more evident and intelligible to the generality of Mankind, by applying them to things of use.

(1) *Eudoxus* and *Archytas* were the First that invented and put in Practice this celebrated, profound, mechanical Knowledge, to give Geometry more Variety and Agreeableness, and to prove by sensible Experiments and the Use of Instruments, such Problems as did not seem capable of Demonstration by Reasoning and Practice; that Problem, for Example, of two proportional middle Lines, which cannot be found out geometrically, and yet are so necessary for the Solution of several other Problems, they resolved mechanically, by the Assistance of certain Instruments called *Mesolabes*, taken from Conick Sections. (2) But when *Plato* grew dis-

(1) This is what *Diogenes Laertius* assures us of *Archytas*. *Archytas*, says he, was the First that invented Mechanicks, making use of the Elements of that Art; and who added to Geometrical Lines and Figures all Kind of Motions that can be performed by Instruments and Machines. and by the Section of a Demi-Cylinder, seeking out two middle proportional Lines, for the Duplication of the Cube; and he was the First that found out the Cube by Geometry, as *Plato* affirms in his Commonwealth. This was in the time of *Dionysius* the elder, above an hundred and sixty Years before the Siege of *Syracuse*. By This we see, that before *Eudoxus* and *Archytas* the Geometricians apply'd themselves only to Things purely

intellectual, and abstracted from Matter, and that they never debased their Art so far as to mix it with Mechanical Inventions. As for *Eudoxus*, we are ignorant what he did in the Mechanicks, since there is nothing preserved giving an Account of his Performances.

(2) For *Plato* esteemed nothing in the Sciences but what was spiritual, and tended to raise and improve the nobler Part of Man. and to discover the Fountain of Good and Evil. For this Reason he would not allow that a Philosopher should apply himself to natural Philosophy; but should consider it only as an Amusement or Diversion. Both those proceeded from the same Principle.

pleased

pleased at them, and reproached them for corrupting and debasing the Excellence of Geometry, by making it descend from incorporeal and intellectual to corporeal and sensible Things, and forcing it to make use of Matter, which requires manual Labour, and is the Object of low and servile Trades; from that time the Study of Mechanism was judged beneath the Dignity of Geometry, and separated from it; and after having been a long time despised by the Philosophers, came to be reckoned a Part of the Military Art.

Archimedes indeed demonstrated one day to King *Hiero*, (1) whose Friend and Kinsman he was, this Propo-

(1) *Archimedes* then was not only distinguished by his great Skill in Geometry, but likewise by his Birth, since he was related to *Hiero*. Notwithstanding which *Cicero* mentions him with Contempt, and as a Person of no Account. 'Tis in the Fifth Book of his *Tusculan Questions*, where speaking of *Dionysius* the Tyrant, he says, *Non ego jam cum ejus vitâ. qua terrius, miserius, detestabilius, excogitare nihil possum, Platonis aut Archyta vitam comparabo, doctorum hominum & planè sapientium; ex eadem urbe humilem homunculum a pulvere & radio excitabo, qui multis annis post fuit, Archimedes*, &c. I will not compare to this Tyrant's Life, a Life the most infamous, unhappy and detestable that can be imagined; I will not, I say, compare to His the Life of Plato or Archytas, Persons of profound Wisdom and Learning; but I will find out One in the same City, an inconsiderable Fellow of mean Birth, *Archimedes*, who lived several Years after him; I will raise Him from the Dust of his Geometry, and take him from among

his Lines and Circles, &c. And all the Commendation he gives him afterwards is only That of *Hominis acutissimi, of a very ingenious Man*; a poor Commendation for so great a Man! But he lessens and villifies him yet further in calling him *humilem homunculum, a little Fellow of mean Birth*. This no way agrees with the Description given of him here by *Plutarch*, who speaks of him as a divine Man, on account of the vast Capacity and Sublimity of his Understanding; and calls him *Hiero's Kinsman*, which shews him to have been well-born. I have endeavoured to find out the Reason of such different Sentiments about the same Person; and by searching into the Matter I find that *Archimedes* was better known in *Plutarch's* than in *Cicero's* Time. This Orator knew no more of him than what he had from *Polybius*, who speaks only of his mechanical Knowledge, and only sets him out as an excellent Artist that way. Besides, *Archimedes* was no Politician, he had never been at the Helm of Government, nor any way

Proposition, That with any given Force the greatest Weight whatever might be moved; and confident of the Strength of his Demonstration he ventured further to affirm, that if there was another Earth besides This we inhabit, by going into That, he would move This where-ever he pleased. The King, surpriz'd hereat, desired him to evidence the Truth of his Proposition by moving some great Weight with a small Force.

Archimedes therefore having caused one of the King's Gallies to be drawn on the Shore, by the Assistance of a great many Hands, and not without much Pains and Trouble, ordered it to be loaded with its usual Burden, and over and above That, to be crowded with as many Men as it could contain; and then placing himself at some Distance from it, without any Pains or Straining, only by moving with his Hand the End of a Machine with Ropes and Pullies, he drew it to him as smoothly and easily as if it had floated on the Water. The King, astonished at so surprising an Effect, and convinced by it of the wonderful Power of this Art,

way concerned himself in State Affairs; whereas *Archytas* had commanded the Forces of his Country seven Years successively, and was never worsted during all that time. And having once through the Envy of his Enemies been obliged to deliver up his Command to Another, the Army was entirely defeated, and most of them taken Prisoners. This is the Reason why *Cicero* made so great a Difference between *Archytas* and Him. He looked upon *Archimedes* as nothing but a private Man, and a skilful Engineer, that never rose to any high Post or Employment; but he considered *Archytas* as a great and renowned

General. Add to This, that the Romans thought no Honour comparable to the Glory that is acquired in the Command of an Army. But if we rightly consider *Archimedes's* Achievement in defending the City of *Syracuse* Himself, so long against the Roman Army, commanded by so great a General as *Marcellus*, I question whether *Archytas* ever performed any thing so great and glorious. As to *Plato*, the Preference *Cicero* gives Him above *Archimedes* is Better founded; the Heathen World never produced a greater Man than *Plato*; he was a great Lawgiver, a great Statesman, a great Moralist, and a great Politician.

(1) entreated

(1) entreated *Archimedes* to make him several kinds of Engines and Machines that might be useful both Ways, and serve either to defend or attack. These however he never made use of, the greatest Part of his Reign being free from War, and blessed with Tranquility and Peace; however they were all ready for the *Syracusians* on this Occasion, and the Artist himself at hand to direct them.

The *Romans* preparing to storm the Walls of *Syracuse* in two places at the same time, an universal Silence and Consternation reigned throughout the City, believing it impossible to withstand such numerous Forces, and so furious an Assault. But as soon as *Archimedes* began to play his Engines, they shot forth against the Land Forces all kinds of missile Weapons, and Stones of a prodigious Weight with so much Noise, and such an irresistible Rapidity and Force, that nothing was able to stand before them; but they overturned and brake to pieces every thing that came in their way, and caused terrible Disorder among their Ranks. On the side towards the Sea were erected vast (2) Machines, putting forth on a sudden, over the Walls, long grappling Irons, like Main-Sail Yards, which tak-

(1) This Wisdom of *Hiero's* deserves Commendation. A Prince ought to make the best Use of the Abilities of the great Men in his Kingdom, and to take all the Assistance, not only that he wants at present, but which may happen to be necessary in future Times: And *Archimedes* is highly to be praised, that *Hiero's* Request only could prevail with him to intermit his higher Speculations in the Mathematicks, and descend to the lower and mechanical Parts of them.

(2) This Machine with which *Archimedes* took hold of *Marcel-*

lus's Ships, oversetting them, and plunging them into the Sea, was a kind of Crane, called, *χαεσιών* or *χαρυσιόν*. We read in *Tzetzes* *πᾶ ἑὸ, καὶ χαεσιών τὰν γᾶν κινῆσαι πάσαν*. Let me fix my Foot somewhere and I'll move the whole Earth with my Machine. Mention is made of This in the *Latin* Inscriptions where we find *Charistionem aeneum*. 'Tis said to have been invented by one *Charistion* a Mathematician, and to have been us'd with good Success against *Samos*; and if so, it was not *Archimedes* that invented it.

ing

ing hold of some of the Enemies Gallies, they at the same time let fall prodigious Weights upon them, and sunk them at once; Others being hoisted up at the Prows by Iron Hands, or Hooks, like the Beaks of Cranes, and set an end on the Stern, they plunged to the bottom of the Sea. Others again by means of Hooks and Cords they drew towards the Shore, and after whirling them about, dash'd them against the Edges of the Rocks that jutt'd out below the Walls, and so bruised to pieces All that were on Board. Very often you might have seen (which was indeed a dreadful Sight) Ships raised a great height above the Water, swinging in the Air, and by their being whirled violently round, the Men thrown over the Hatches on every Side, and then either split in Pieces against the Walls, or else let suddenly fall and plunged to the Bottom of the Sea.

(1) As for the Machine which *Marcellus* brought upon eight Gallies, and which was called *Sambuca*, from its Resemblance to a musical Instrument of the same Name, it fared no better than all the rest; for before it came near the Walls, *Archimedes* discharged (1) a vast Piece of a Rock, of ten Talents

(1) *Polybius* has described this Machine in his Eighth Book. and several Writers after him; but according to the learned *Casaubon*, the most exact Description of it may be found in the *Mechanicks* of *Athenaeus*, which he took from the Memoirs of one *Damius* of *Colophon*.

(2) The *Τάλαντα* among the Greeks was of several Kinds; the least weigh'd an hundred and twenty five Pounds; some weighed an hundred and sixty five, some four hundred, some a thousand, and some twelve hundred and fifty Pounds. What *Plutarch* says here

of *Archimedes's* Machines, which is likewise confirmed by *Polybius*, who was Cotemporary with *Marcellus*, is very wonderful. Our Artillery now-a-days, which makes as much Noise as Thunder, is far inferior to them, and has only changed the Face of War, and put a Stop to Mens Genius and Invention. We ought, by the Bye, to observe here, that neither *Polybius*, nor *Livy*, nor *Plutarch* speak one Word of the Burning-Glasses with which *Archimedes* is said to have burnt the Roman Gallies; this is nothing but a modern Tradition, without any Foundation at all.

Weight;

Weight; after that a Second, and then a Third, All which striking upon it with a mighty Noise and Force broke and overset its Basis, and gave the Gallies such a Shock, as divided and parted them asunder.

Marcellus, doubtful what Course to take, drew off his Gallies as fast as he could, and at the same time sent Orders to the Forces on Land to do the same. He immediately called a Council of War, in which it was resolved, to come close under the Walls, if it was possible, the next Morning before Day; for *Archimedes's* Engines, they thought, being very strong, and designed for a considerable Distance, would throw all the Stones and Weapons over their Heads; and if they should be pointed at them when they were so near, they would be of very little Service for want of Scope and Room to adjust them to a due Distance and Level, and give them their former Force.

But *Archimedes* had long before provided Machines for all Distances, with suitable Weapons and shorter Beams and Weights, which being more easily managed, were consequently oftner discharged. Besides, (1) he had caused Holes to be made in the Walls, in which he placed Scorpions, for close Fighting, which wounded Those that came near, without being perceiv'd.

When the *Romans* were got close to Walls, imagining themselves by that means in a good measure skreened from the Enemy, they were instantly

(1) This Passage of *Plutarch* is corrupted, for instead of τραυμάτων Wounds, which can by no means be proper here, it ought to be τρημάτων Holes; as it is in *Polybius*, whom *Plutarch* does little more than copy in this Place. In l. viii. p. 516. he writes thus: ὡς ἀνδρομήκεις ὕψος κατεπύκνωσε τρήμασι τὸ τεῖχος ὡς

παλασιαίοις τὸ μέγεθος κατὰ τὴν ἐκτὸς ἐπιφανείαν; He made Holes in the Wall very near one another, which on the Inside were as big as a man, but on the Outside appeared no bigger than a Hand. This is what *Livy* says, Murum ab imo ad Summum crebris cubitalibus fure cavis aperuit, speaking only of the Opening without.

attack'd

attack'd from all Parts with a Shower of Darts and all kind of missile Weapons, together with great quantities of Stones and Logs, falling perpendicular upon their Heads, which soon obliged them to retire; but no sooner were they got at a little Distance from the Walls, when a new Shower of all sorts of Weapons overtook them, so that there was a very great slaughter made, and most of their Gallies bruised and dashed in pieces, without being able to do the least Damage, or make the least Impression upon the Enemy. For *Archimedes* had erected and fixed most of his Machines close within the Walls, so that the *Romans* sustaining such infinite Mischief, without seeing either the Place or Hand from whence it came, seem'd, as it were, to fight against the Gods.

However, *Marcellus* escaped this Danger, and laughing at his Engineers and Artists, said, *Shall we continue to fight with this Mechanical Briareus, (1) who lifts our Ships out of the Sea, and plunges them into it again, like Bowls, for his Diversion, who has given my Sambuca such terrible Buffets, and who, for Numbers of Weapons discharged against*

(1) The Original here is not only corrupted, but defective. 'Tis in the first Place corrupted, since instead of *καθίζων πρὸς τῇ θαλάσῳ*, it ought to be *κυαθίζων ἐκ θαλάσσης*, as a certain Manuscript has it; and it is defective, because these Words *δὲ σαμβύκην ῥαπίζων* ought to be added, which will make the Pleasantry stronger; for *Plutarch* took this Passage from *Polybius*, who in his Eighth Book tells us, that *Marcellus* being very much embarrassed, and not knowing how to withstand the Machines *Archimedes* employed against him, and

seeing all his Efforts eluded by the Besieged, with great Derision on their Part, and Loss on his Own, tho' he was very much mortified and vexed, yet could not forbear jesting, *ὅπως δ' ἐτιςκώπων τὰς αὐτῆ πράξεις ἐφῆ ταῖς μὲν ναύων αὐτῆ κυαθίζειν ἐκ θαλάσσης Ἀρχιμήδην, τὰς δὲ σαμβύκας ῥαπιζόμενας ὥσπερ ἐκ σπονδίων, μετ' αἰγύρῃς ἐκπέπλεκεναι.* However he could not forbear jesting, and saying, that *Archimedes* used his Gallies like Bowls to drink in, and that his *Sambuca*, after being well buffeted, was shamefully kick'd out of the Feast.

us at once, even surpasses the fabulous Story of the Giants with an Hundred Hands? (1) And indeed the Syracusians were All but as the Body of these Machines and Batteries, *Archimedes* Alone was the Soul that moved them; all other Weapons lay idle and unemployed; His were the only offensive and defensive Arms of the City.

In short, *Marcellus* finding that the *Romans* were seized with so much Terror, that if they only spy'd a small Cord or Piece of Wood above the Walls, they immediately fled, crying out, *That Archimedes was going to let fly some terrible Engine at them*; gave over all Thoughts of taking the City by Storm, and turned the Siege into a Blockade, in order to cut off all their Provisions. However, *Archimedes* had so sublime a Genius, such a Depth of Understanding, and such an inexhaustible Fund of mathematical Knowledge, that he would never condescend to commit to Writing the least Account of these Machines, which he employed with such wonderful Success, and which gained him the Reputation of a Man endued not with Human Science, but Divine Wisdom: But slighting as vile and forbid that Industry in contriving Engines, and accommodating mathematical Knowledge to Use and profitable Practice, placed his whole Study and Delight in those Speculations which are noble and excellent in themselves, the Other being only so with regard to Mens Wants and Necessities, and therefore not to be compared with them. For if the One is to be valued for its Bulk and curious Workmanship, the Other infinitely excels on account of its invincible Force and Conviction. For difficult and abstruse Questions are no where expressed in

(1) What an Encomium is this | been something Divine in one
on *Archimedes*! *Plutarch* repre- | Man's defending a City against two
sents him not as a Man, but a God. | Armies.
And indeed there seems to have

plainer Terms, or explained on more clear and evident Principles, than in the Writings of *Archimedes*.

Some ascribe This to the natural Brightness of his Understanding, Others to his indefatigable Pains and Industry, by which he made Things that cost much Toil and Sweat, appear unlaboured and easy. It will be almost impossible for any Man of Himself to find out the Demonstration of his Propositions, but when he has once learnt it from Him, he fancies he might have done it without any Difficulty, so short and easy is his Method of Demonstration. Wherefore we are not to reject as incredible, what is related of him, that being perpetually charmed by a domestick Syren, that is, his Geometry, he neglected his Meat and Drink, and all necessary Care of his Body; and that being often carried by Force to the Baths and publick Games, he would make mathematical Figures in the Ashes, and with his Finger draw Lines upon his Body, when it was anointed with Oil; so much was he transported beyond himself with intellectual Delight, and ravished with mathematical Pleasure. And tho' he was the Author of many curious and excellent Discoveries, he is said to have desir'd his Friends, (1) instead of

(1) This is the Tombstone that, *Cicero*. when he was Quæstor in *Sicily*, dug up, and shew'd the *Syracusians*, who knew nothing of it, and denyed they had any such Thing; as he relates in the fifth Book of his *Tusculan Questions*. From the Death of *Archimedes*. who was slain in the second Year of the hundred and forty second *Olympiad*, five hundred and forty two Years after the Building of *Rome*, and two hundred and nine Years before the Incarnation of Christ, to the Time of *Cicero's* Quæstorship, who went into *Sicily* in the second Year of the one hundred and seventy sixth *Olympiad*, in the six hundred and seventy eighth Year of *Rome*, and seventy three Years before the Christian *Æra*, there were only an hundred and thirty seven Years; and yet in this short Space of Time was *Archimedes*, notwithstanding his great Services, so far forgotten, that the *Syracusians* denied that he was interred there, and had suffered his

of an Epitaph, to place on his Tombstone a (1) Cylinder containing a Sphere, and (2) set down the *Ratio* which the Contained Solid bears to the Containing.

Archimedes then, being that wonderful Man I have represented him, did all that lay in Him to save both Himself and the City of *Syracuse* from being taken.

Marcellus leaving *Appius* with two Thirds of the Army before *Syracuse*, marched with the rest to besiege *Megara*, one of the most ancient Cities of *Sicily*, which he took by Storm, sacked, and razed it. A few Days after he (3) fell upon *Hippocrates*, as he was entrenching himself at *Acila*, and slew above eight thousand of his Men. About the same time, he over-ran a great Part of *Sicily*, retook several Places that had submitted to the *Carthaginians*, with Whom he had many

Sepulchre to be buried in Thorns and Brambles, and almost consumed for Want of Care. 'Twas necessary that one should come from *Arpinum* to raise this Monument from the Dead, and to revive the Memory of the Deceased. What Ingratitude This! And what grateful Acknowledgements are the greatest Men to expect from Posterity?

(1) Here is singular Modesty. Any other Person would have filled his Monument with Basso Relievo's, or have had the whole History of the Siege of *Syracuse* engraved on it, and Himself appearing like *Jupiter* darting down his Thunder upon the *Romans*. But instead of This, He would only have a Sphere within a Cylinder upon his Tombstone, because he was the first that demonstrated the Proportion between 'em, a Propor-

tion which learned modern Mathematicians have explained according to his Method, by shewing the Difference between those two Figures.

(2) *Cicero*, who dug up this Monument, says there were Verses inscribed below expressing that a Cylinder and Sphere had been put upon his Tomb, *qui declarabant in summo Sepulchro Spheram esse positam cum Cylindro*.

(3) *Hippocrates* marched out of *Syracuse* by Night with ten thousand Foot and five hundred Horse to join *Himilco*, who was landed at *Heraclea* with twenty thousand Foot, three thousand Horse, and twelve Elephants. *Marcellus* marched from *Agriantum*, which he had taken, and fell upon him as he was entrenching himself at *Acila*, a Town not far from *Syracuse*. *Liv. xxiv. 35.*

Engagements, in All which he was constantly victorious.

Some time after This, when he was returned before *Syracuse*, he surpris'd and took Prisoner *Damippus* a *Lacedæmonian*, as he was going from thence by Sea. The *Syracusians* being very desirous to redeem him, offered his Ransom to *Marcellus*, and they had several Meetings and Conferences about it. Upon this Occasion, *Marcellus* observed a Tower into which Soldiers might be privately conveyed, that was carelessly guarded, and the Wall that led to it easy to be scaled. And when he had taken the Height of the Wall, being frequently near it on Account of these Conferences, and had prepared his Scaling-Ladders, he took the Opportunity to put his Design in Execution, when the *Syracusians* were celebrating a Feast to *Diana* with Wine and Jollity; so that before the Day-light, without being perceived by the Citizens, he not only possess'd himself of the Tower, but fill'd the Walls all about with Soldiers, and brake open the *Hexapylum*.

The *Syracusians*, awak'd by the Noise and Hurry, began to move about in great Confusion; but at the Sound of all the *Roman* Trumpets at once, they were seiz'd with Consternation, and betook themselves to Flight, believing that the whole City was in the Possession of the Enemy. But the *Achradine*, the best and strongest Part of it, was not taken, being divided by Walls from the rest of the City, one Part of which was called *Neapolis* (or new City) and the other *Tyche* (or Fortune).

This Enterprize being thus successfully executed, *Marcellus* about Break of Day entered from the *Hexapylum* into the new City, where all his Captains and Officers came about him to congratulate him on his Success. But for his Part, when from the rising Ground he look'd down and view'd this great and glorious City, he is said to have wept, commiserating

commiserating the Calamity that hung over it, his Thoughts representing to him how sad and dismal the approaching Scene must be, when it came to be sack'd and plundered. For the Soldiers peremptorily demanded the Plunder of it, and there was not an Officer that durst deny it; nay there were Many who insisted that the City should be burnt and laid level with the Ground, but This *Marcellus* refused to consent to; nor was it without much Reluctancy and Unwillingness that he suffered the Riches of the City and the Slaves to become their Prey, strictly commanding 'em at the same time not to touch any Freeman, nor to kill, offer Violence to, or make any Citizen a Slave.

But notwithstanding this great Moderation of *Marcellus*, the City met with so severe a Treatment, that, in the midst of his Joy, he could not help expressing his Grief and Concern, to see so flourishing a State of Grandeur and Felicity vanish in a Moment. The Plunder and Spoils of this City are said to have been no less in Value than those that were seen soon after at *Carthage*. (1) For in a very

(1) Was there no other Relation of this Siege than what is given by *Plutarch*, every Body wou'd conclude that *Marcellus* got Possession of the whole City of *Syracuse* within a very few Days after he first entered it, which is a Mistake. I believe one may venture boldly to say, that never any City, after the Enemy was in Possession of it and encamped within its Walls, held out so long, and cost the Conqueror so much Pains. After *Marcellus* was in Possession of *Neapolis* and *Tyche*, he met with a more difficult Task, wherein he gave Proof at the same time of his heroick Bravery and consum-

mate Wisdom. *Plutarch* did not think fit to relate the Particulars, and by so slightly passing over that great and glorious Action, he has been highly injurious to the Fame and Honour of that illustrious Roman. What *Polybius* wrote about it is unfortunately lost; *Pliny* is the only Author now remaining, that gives us all the Particulars of that Siege, in his twenty-fifth Book. I believe the Reader would be pleased with an Abstract of it:

When *Marcellus* had in this manner enter'd the City by the *Hexapylum*, *Epycides* assembled in haste all the Troops he had in the Island adjoining to *Achradine*, and marched

very short time all the other Parts of the City were taken by Treachery, and plunder'd; only the Royal

at the Head of them against him; but finding, after a short Tryal, that he was too strong for him, he shut himself up in *Achradine*. *Marcellus* endeavoured to gain Those who had the Charge of the Gates belonging to that Fortress, but not succeeding, he turned his Forces against the Fort called *Euryalus*, which stood at the end of the Town, and commanded all the Country to the Land-ward, *Philodemus*, who commanded there, kept *Marcellus* in play for some time, to give *Hippocrates* and *Himilco* an Opportunity to come up with their Forces to his Assistance. Whereupon *Marcellus* finding it difficult to make himself Master of it, encamped between the new City and *Tyche*, till *Philodemus* for Want of Succours surrendered on Condition he might be allowed to march with his Garrison to *Epicydes* in *Achradine*. In the mean time *Bomilcar*, who lay in the Port with Ninety Vessels, took the Opportunity of a dark tempestuous Night, when the Ships of the Romans were driven from their Anchors, stole out with thirty-six of his Vessels, sail'd to *Carthage*, acquainted the *Carthaginians* with the State of their Affairs in *Sicily*, and returned with an hundred Sail. *Marcellus* having put a Garrison into *Euryalus*, and thereby secured himself from any Attempts of the Enemy in the Rear, sat down before *Achradine*. In the mean time arrive *Hippocrates* and *Himilco*. *Hippocrates* makes an Attack upon the old Camp of the Romans,

where *Crispinus* had the Command, whilst *Epicydes* sallies out upon *Marcellus*. *Hippocrates* was vigorously repulsed by *Crispinus*, who pursues him up to his Retrenchments, and *Marcellus* constrains *Epicydes* to keep himself within *Achradine*. It was now Autumn, and a pestilential Distemper rag'd in the City, and in the Camps both of the Romans and *Carthaginians*, but more especially in the latter. The *Sicilians* that were among them dispersed themselves up and down in the Country, and so escaped the Contagion; but the *Carthaginians* who had no Places of retreat, died almost All to a Man, with their Commanders *Hippocrates* and *Himilco*. In the mean time, *Bomilcar* makes a second Voyage to *Carthage*, and returns with fresh Supplies; for he brought with him one hundred and thirty Sail, and five hundred Ships of Burden. The contrary Winds hindered him from doubling the Cape of *Pachynus*. *Epicydes* being afraid that in case the Wind continued, *Bomilcar* would be for returning with the Fleet into *Africk*; leaves *Achradine* under the Command of the Officers belonging to the Mercenaries, and goes to *Bomilcar*, pressing him to try his Fortune in a naval Engagement. *Marcellus* observing that the Forces of the *Sicilians* encreased every Day, and that if he did not take care, he should be pent up both by Sea and Land, resolves, tho' not so strong at Sea as the *Carthaginians*, to oppose their Passage. When the Wind abated, *Bomilcar*

Royal Treasure was preserved, and carried into the publick Treasury at *Rome*.

But what gave *Marcellus* the greatest and most sensible Concern was the unhappy Fate of *Archimedes*, who was at that time in his *Museum*, and his Mind, as well as Eyes, so fixed and intent upon

milcar stood out to Sea, that he might double the Cape with less Danger; but as soon as he saw the Romans making towards him in good Order, all on a sudden, nobody knows why, he flies, orders the Ships of Burden to return home, and sailed himself to *Tarentum*. *Epicyles*, being thus deserted, retires to *Agrigentum*. The *Sirilians*, informed of what had pass'd, immediately dispatch their Deputies to *Marcellus* with offers to surrender upon Conditions. When *Marcellus* and the Deputies had agreed upon the Terms, the Deputies go to confer with the Inhabitants of *Achradine*, whom they easily persuade to remove the Commanders *Epicyles* had left there. Those Officers being slain, an Assembly is called, new Officers created, and Some of them sent to *Marcellus*. When every thing was agreed upon between Them and the Romans, the Deserters in the Fortress being afraid they should be delivered up to the Romans, persuade the Auxiliary Troops, whom they terrified with the same Apprehensions, to join with them, take Arms, cut the new Officers Throats, fall foul on all the *Syracusians* that come in their Way, seize on every thing they can lay their Hands upon, and appoint Six Officers of their own, Three of which are to have the Command in *Achradine*, and Three

in the Island. Among Those who command in *Achradine*, is one *Meric* a Spaniard. He is corrupted by the Romans, and delivers up the Gate that stood near the Fountain of *Arcthusa*. The next Morning at break of Day, *Marcellus* causes a false Attack to be made upon *Achradine*, to draw to that Part all the Forces that were in the Island and the Fortress adjoining, and to give some Ships he had prepared for that Purpose, an Opportunity of throwing Forces into the Island after the Enemies Troops were withdrawn. The Success answered his Desire. The Soldiers landing in the Island, find all the Posts forsaken and the Gates open, and make themselves Masters of the Place with little or no Opposition. *Marcellus* finding himself in Possession of the Island, and one of the Quarters of *Achradine*, and that *Meric* had joined him with his Garrison, sounds a Retreat to prevent the Wealth and Riches of the preceding Kings from being dissipated. Soon after This, all the Gates of *Achradine* are surrendered. *Marcellus* calls a Council, makes a handsome Speech to the *Syracusians*, and when he had placed a Guard upon the Treasury, gives the City up to be pillaged, &c. Thus *Syracuse*, after a three Years Siege, fell into the Hands of the Romans.

some Geometrical Figures, that he neither heard the Noise and Hurry of the *Romans*, nor perceived that the City was taken. In this Transport of Study and Contemplation, a Soldier came suddenly upon him, and commanded him to follow him to *Marcellus*; which he refusing to do 'till he had finished his Problem, and fitted it for Demonstration; the Soldier, in a Rage, drew his Sword and ran him through. Others write, that *Archimedes* seeing a Soldier come with a drawn Sword to kill him, entreated him to hold his Hand one Moment, that he might not die with the Regret of having left his Problem unfinished, and the Demonstration imperfect; but that the Soldier, without any Regard, either to his Problem or Demonstration, killed him immediately. Others again write, that as *Archimedes* was carrying some Mathematical Instruments in a Box to *Marcellus*, as Sun Dials, Spheres, and Angles, with which the Eye might measure the Magnitude of the Sun's Body, some Soldiers met him, and believing there was Gold in it, slew him. But what is most certain, and wherein all Historians agree, is, that *Marcellus* was extremely concerned at his Death; that he would not so much as look upon his Murderer, detesting him as an execrable Villain; and that having made a diligent Enquiry after his Relations, he granted them his Protection, and shewed 'em many signal Favours upon his Account.

The *Romans* had hitherto given other Nations sufficient Proof, both of their Courage and Conduct in War, but they had not yet shewn them any illustrious Examples of Justice, Clemency, Humanity, that is, in a word, (1) of Political Virtue. *Marcellus*

(1) This Saying of *Plutarch's* prehends Justice, Clemency and deserves a particular Regard. He Humanity, and 'tis certain it does assures us that Political Virtue com- so. This is true Policy, and what only

cellus seems to have been the First, who, on this Occasion, shewed the *Greeks* (1) that the *Romans* surpass'd them in Justice, no less than in Conduct and Courage. For such was his Candour and Condescension to All with whom he had any Concern, such his Benignity and Goodness to several Cities and private Persons, that if any thing severe or cruel was committed in the Cities of *Enna*, *Megara* and *Syracuse*, the blame of it is more justly chargeable on the Sufferers themselves, than on those who were the Authors and Instruments of their Suffering. I shall only give one Example out of Many that might be mentioned. There is in *Sicily* a City call'd *Enguium*, which, tho' it be not large, is very ancient, (2) and particularly celebrated for the Appearance of the Goddesses called the *Mothers*. Their Temple is said to have been founded by the *Cretans*; there they shew large Spears and brazen Helmets, Some of which bear the Name of *Merion*, and others That of *Ulysses*, who consecrated them to these Goddesses. This City greatly favoured the *Carthaginian* Interest; but *Nicias*, the most eminent of the Citizens, used all his Endeavours to 'make 'em declare for the *Romans*, speaking his Mind freely at all publick Assemblies, shewing Those on the contrary Side by good Reasons, that they judged wrong, and adhered to an Interest that would prove fatal to their Country.

only deserves the Name. This is what we are assured of by a Hea-then, and yet there are Writers now-a-days, who call themselves Christian, that make Policy consist in Fraud, Injustice, and Cruelty.

(1) Nothing can be a greater Proof of *Plutarch's* Integrity and Impartiality than this publick Confession, wherein he gives the *Romans* the Preference above the *Greeks* for their Justice, Bravery and Wisdom. *Virgil* therefore did not

talk like a Poet, but like an Historian and Politician, when he said to the *Romans*,

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.

Are the Qualifications he ascribes to the *Greeks*, to be compared to these Virtues?

(2) These Goddesses, I believe, were *Cybele*, *Juno*, and *Ceres*. *Cicero* speaking of *Enguium*, mentions only the Temple of *Cybele*.

These

These Men fearing the Power, Authority, and Reputation of *Nicias*, resolved to seize him and deliver him to the *Carthaginians*. But He, having smelt out their Design, took no Notice at all of it, but guarded against it after this manner: He uttered several Things disrespectful and injurious to the Goddesses, seeming to deny the received Opinion of their Appearance among 'em, and to charge it with Fable and Imposture. His Enemies were overjoyed to see that he Himself had furnished them with Reasons sufficient to justify whatever they should act against him.

When the Day agreed on to seize him was come, there happened to be a Publick Assembly in the City, and *Nicias* was in the Midst of the People haranguing 'em, and giving his Advice concerning some Affair then under Deliberation: When, all on a sudden, in the very middle of his Discourse, he fell flat on the Ground, and (1) after having lain there some Time without speaking, as tho' he had been in a Trance, he raised his Head, turning it this way and that way, and began to speak with a feeble trembling Voice, which he raised by degrees; and when he perceived the whole Assembly struck with Horror and a profound Silence, he rose up, threw off his Mantle, and tearing his Coat in pieces, ran half naked towards one of the Doors, crying out that the *Mothers* avenging Furies pursued him. A religious Fear detained every Body from laying Hands on him or stopping him, so that he reached one of the City Gates without Opposition, no longer counterfeiting by the least Word or Action, a Man mad or possess'd. His Wife, who was in the Secret, and assisted in the Stratagem,

(1) 'Tis *Nicias* that continued at first without speaking, and *Plutarch* gives the Reason, because he seemed to be in a Trance. The Expositors have mistaken the Sense of this Passage.

taking her Children in her Arms, ran first of all and prostrated herself as a Suppliant to the Goddesses at their Altar; then pretending to find out her Husband who was wandring about the Fields, she got safely out of the Town without any Hindrance at all, and so they both made their Escape to *Marcellus* at *Syracuse*.

Some Days after this, *Marcellus* entring *Enguim*, caused all the Inhabitants to be loaded with Irons, in order to punish 'em for their Insolence and Treachery. But *Nicias*, who had attended him, came and address'd himself to him, and falling on his Knees with Tears in his Eyes, and kissing his Hands, ask'd Pardon for all the Citizens, and in the first Place for his Enemies. Hereupon *Marcellus* relenting, set them all at Liberty, and hinder'd his Soldiers from committing any Disorder in the City, bestowing on *Nicias* a large Tract of Land and many rich Presents. This is the Account given by *Posidonius* the Philosopher.

(1) *Marcellus*, after This, being recalled by the Romans to conduct a War nearer Home, carried away with him at his Departure the finest Statues, Paintings and Furniture in *Syracuse*; first to be made use of to embellish and illustrate his Triumph, and then to be preserved as lasting Ornaments to the City. For (2) before that time, *Rome* had never

(1) *Plutarch* forgets here a great Victory *Marcellus* gain'd over *Epicyles* and *Hanno* before he left *Sicily*; in which he slew a great many Men, took several Prisoners, besides eight Elephants. *Liv.* xxv. 40. *Hac ultima in Sicilia Marcelli pugna fuit.*

(2) *Livy* makes a Reflection upon this, which, in my Opinion, is very remarkable. *All the Spoils were the Conqueror's, they belonged to*

Him by the Right of War; but from thence arose the Custom of admiring the Works of Grecian Artists. and the Liberty which still prevails, of violating Places sacred and profane; a Liberty which was at last turned against the very Gods of Rome, and that very Temple which Marcellus had adorned with so much Splendor and Magnificence: And the Proof he gives of this, is, that in his Time there was not to be seen the
hundredth

never seen or known any superfluous Curiosities, nor were any Rarities or exquisite Pieces of Art, that shew an elegant and polite Taste, to be found there. Instead of which were then to be seen Arms taken from the Barbarians, and Spoils stained with Blood, and with triumphal Ornaments and Trophies, she presented to the View a dreadful and ghastly Sight, no way fit to entertain the Eyes of nice and delicate Spectators. And as *Epaminondas* called the Plains of *Bœotia*, (1) *the Orchestra, or Stage of Mars*, and *Xenophon* styled *Ephesus* (2) *the Arsenal of War*, so in my opinion, *Rome* might then have been called (to use (3) the Words of *Pindar*) *the Palace of Mars*.

For

hundredth Part of the Ornaments which *Marcellus* had consecrated. xxv. 40.

Polybius has written a whole Chapter to enquire whether the *Romans* did well in carrying the rich Ornaments of all the Cities they conquered, to *Rome*; which Chapter is very well worth the reading, being very excellent and profound.

(1) On Account of the Battels fought there, which he look'd upon as Games or Exercises. This is a fine Image.

(2) This is in the hundred and eleventh Book of his *Grecian History*; where he speaks of *Agefilaus*, who having assembled an Army at *Ephesus*, and being desirous to have them well-disciplined, proposed a Reward to such of his Army, both Horse and Foot, as performed their Exercises best: Whereupon Nothing was to be seen but Persons exercising themselves, Some riding, and Others shooting with their Bows. The Markets were full of

Horses and Arms exposed to Sale. All the Shops crouded with Workmen, making, mending, and embellishing of Armour. And, which was the greatest Encouragement of all, *Agefilaus* was always the First in the Places of Exercise, and from thence he and his Soldiers went to offer their Crowns to *Diana*. For addsthat wise Historian, where-ever we find the Gods duly honoured, a proper Regard had to martial Discipline, and an exact Obedience paid to Superiors, there likewise we find chearful Expectations of undoubted Success. These three Things join'd together will make good Troops, and give well-grounded Hopes.

(3) This Passage of *Pindar* is in the Beginning of his Second Ode on the *Pythians*, where the Poet makes this beautiful Apostrophe to the City of *Syracuse*.

Μεγαλόπολεις ὦ Συρά-
κοσαι, βαθυπολέμῳ
Τέμενος Ἄρεος, Ἄνδρᾶν

Ἰππῶν

For this Reason *Marcellus* became the Favourite of the People, because he had made the City a delightful Spectacle, by adorning it with Rarities and Ornaments, expressing the curious Arts and politer Taste of *Greece*; whereas (1) the more Judicious esteemed *Fabius Maximus*, who, after he had taken *Tarentum*, brought no such Things from thence, but contented himself with their Gold and Silver and other useful Riches, leaving the Pictures and Statues of the Gods in their Places, and saying upon that Occasion these memorable Words, *Let us leave to the Tarentines their offended Deities*. They charged *Marcellus*, in the first place, with having exposed *Rome* to the Envy, as well as Enmity of Mankind, by leading not only Men, but even the Gods in Triumph; and then that he had spoiled a People bred up and inur'd to Husbandry and War, wholly unacquainted with Luxury and Sloth, and, (2) as *Euripides* said of *Hercules*, *rough and unpolished, yet highly fit for great and arduous Undertakings*, by furnishing them with an Occasi-

Ἰππων τε σιδ' αροχαρμᾶν
Δαιμονίαι τροφοί.

Hail famous *Syracuse*! thou wonderfull Collection of many Cities; thou Palace of Mars, wherein that God contrives his bloody Wars, thou matchless Nursery of Men and Horses, whose sole Delight is War. How finely has he complimented *Rome* in this Application!

(1) And with good Reason. For these foreign Ornaments did only bring Envy upon Those that took 'em, and Compassion towards Them from whom they were taken. Besides, 'tis a gross Mistake to imagine that the Spoils of ruined Cities, and the Miseries of our Fellow-Creatures, can ever add

any true Lustre and Glory to our Country. *V. Polyb. l. ix.*

(2) This Passage of *Euripides* is in one of his Pieces that is lost. The Ancients quote it from a Piece entituled *Lycinus*, and it is as follows.

Φαῦλον, ἀκομψον, τὰ δὲ μέγισ'
ἀγαθὸν
Πᾶσαν τ' ἐν ἔργῳ, περιτεμνόμε-
νον
Σοφίαν λέχης ἀτρίβωνα.

Rough and unpolished, yet highly fit for great and arduous Undertakings, and shewing in all his Actions a consummate Wisdom, without prating,

on of Idleness and Pratling; for they now began to waste the best Part of their Time, in viewing the *Grecian* Rarities, admiring the Excellency of the Workmanship, and disputing about the Superiority of the Artists. But notwithstanding this Censure, this was the very Thing *Marcellus* gloried most in, and That before the *Greeks* themselves, namely, that He was the first that taught the *Romans* to admire and value the *Grecian* Arts, and gave them a Taste and Relish for those exquisite Performances, which they never understood before.

Finding at his Return that his Enemies opposed his Triumph, and considering that the War in *Sicily* was not quite finished, and that his former Triumph had raised the Envy of the Citizens, he was content to proceed in Triumph on Mount *Alba* only, and to enter the City in a sort of Triumph, by the *Greeks* called *Evan*, and by the *Romans* *Ovation*. The Person, to whom this kind of Triumph was allowed, did not ride in a triumphal Chariot drawn by four Horses, nor was he crowned with Laurel, or had Trumpets sounding before him; but he went on Foot, in Slippers, with Flutes playing before him, and a Crown of Myrtle on his Head, which was a Sight that carried no Appearance of War, and was rather delightful than terrible. And This, in my Opinion, is a plain Proof that heretofore the Difference between a *Triumph* and an *Ovation*, did not arise from the Greatness of the Atchievement, but the Manner of its Performance; for They that conquered the Enemy with mighty Slaughter and Effusion of Blood were honoured with the first Kind of military and terrible Triumph, in which both the Soldiers and their Armour were crowned with Laurel, as was usual in the Ceremony of lustrating or purifying a Camp: But to such Generals as succeeded in their Enterprizes without Force, merely by their Prudence and power of Persuasion, the Law allowed

lowed the Honour of that civil pacifick Entry, called *Ovation*. For the Flute is an Instrument of Peace, and the Myrtle the Plant of *Venus*, who, more than all the other Deities, abhors Violence and War.

That kind of Triumph therefore called *Ovation*, is not derived, as most Authors think, from the Word *Evan*, signifying a Song of Joy, because of the shouting and singing with which it was accompanied, for they did the same at the other Triumph; but the *Greeks* have wrested it from a Word well known in their Language, believing that this Show relates in some measure to *Bacchus*, whom they call *Evius* and *Thriambus*: But neither of these is the Truth. It was customary among the *Romans* at the greater Triumph to sacrifice an Ox, but at the Other only a Sheep, which in *Latin* is called *Ovis*, and from thence comes the Word *Ovation*. 'Tis worth our while on this Occasion to observe the Conduct of the *Spartan* Legislator, who enacted Laws directly opposite to the *Roman*. For at *Lacedæmon* a General who had succeeded in his Undertaking by Art or Persuasion, sacrificed an Ox, but He that succeeded only by Force of Arms, offered a Cock; for though they were a very brave and warlike People, yet they thought such Achievements as were owing to Eloquence and Wisdom more suitable to the Dignity of Man, and much more worthy of Honour, than Those that were effected only by Violence and Slaughter. But (1) which of the two has the best Reasons to support it, I leave to the Determination of Others.

(1) *Plutarch* does not take upon him to determine this Matter, but throughout his whole Work he lets us see plainly enough, that 'twas his Opinion, that 'tis more honourable to effect any Matter by Eloquence and Wisdom, than by Force and Violence; and there is one Reason for it, which appears to me decisive, that whatever is done by Saving is preferable to what is done by Destroying.

Marcellus

Marcellus being a fourth time chosen Consul, his Enemies persuaded the *Syracusians* to come to *Rome* and accuse him before the Senate of several Acts of Injustice and Cruelty, contrary to the League between Them and the *Romans*.

(1) On the Day of their Arrival *Marcellus* happened to be offering Sacrifice in the Capitol. The *Syracusan* Deputies went directly to the Senate, who were then sitting, and falling on their Knees besought them to hear their Complaints and do them Justice. The other Consul, who was there present, took *Marcellus's* Part, and reprov'd the Complainants, for preferring their Petition during his Colleague's Absence. But when *Marcellus* heard what was in Agitation, he made haste to the Senate, and taking his Place there, dispatched the ordinary Affairs of his Office; after which, he rose from his Seat, and as a private Man went into the Place where the Accused were used to make their Defence, submitting to the Accusation of the *Syracusians*, and giving them free Liberty to make good their Charge.

The *Syracusan* Deputies were at first struck and confounded at his Unconcern and the Dignity of his Appearance; and tho' the Power of his Presence, when in Armour, was awful and tremendous, they found it much more terrible now even

(1) *Plutarch* omits one Circumstance here, which ought to have been fully express'd, which is, that the *Syracusians* were scarce arriv'd at *Rome* before the Consuls drew Lots for their respective Provinces, and *Sicily* fell to *Marcellus*. This was a terrible Stroke to the *Syracusians* that were come to accuse him. They fell a weeping, and said, they must now be obliged to leave *Sicily*; and that it was better for them to leap into the Gulf of Mount *Ætna*, or the Sea, than expose themselves to the Consul's Resentments, after the Steps they had taken against him. They would have obliged the Consuls to desire the Senate to change the Provinces, but *Marcellus* offer'd it of his own accord; which being done, and the *Syracusians* by that means put out of Fear, they prosecuted their Charge. *Liv.* xxvi. 29, 30.

in Consular Purple. However being animated and encouraged by his Enemies, they laid open their Accusation in a Speech full of Lamentations and Complaints; the Sum of all which was, *That Marcellus had made them suffer such things as other Generals seldom inflict on a conquered Enemy.*

(1) To this Marcellus answered, *That notwithstanding all the Injuries they had done the Romans, they had suffered nothing but what it was impossible to protect an Enemy from, when a City was taken by Storm; and that 'twas their own Fault, they were so taken, by having rejected such reasonable Proposals, as had been offered them; that they could not urge in their Excuse, that they had been forced by the Tyrants to take Arms, since they had voluntarily submitted to those Tyrants on purpose to make War.*

When the Reasons had been heard on both Sides, the Deputies, according to Custom, were ordered to withdraw; Marcellus likewise did the same, leaving his Colleague to take the Senators Votes, he himself (2) waiting at the Door without any sign of Concern about the Event, or Resentment against the *Syracusians*, nor any way in the least discomposed, but with great Civility and Modesty attending the Issue of the Cause.

After the Votes were taken, and Judgment pronounced in Favour of Marcellus, the *Syracusians* came and threw themselves at his Feet, beseeching him with Tears in their Eyes to forget his just Resentments, and to pardon not only Them that were there present, but likewise all the rest of the Ci-

(1) When the *Syracusan* Deputies had finished their Accusation, *Lavinus*, the other Consul, ordered them to go out of the Senate, but Marcellus kept them in, being desirous to make his Defence in their Presence.

(2) *Livy* says, he went to the

Capitol to take the Names of the Soldiers that were listed; and that after Judgment was pass'd, the Senate sent two Senators to fetch him, and that the *Syracusians* were ordered to attend at the sametime with him.

tizens,

tizens, who would always retain a grateful Acknowledgment and Remembrance of his Favours. *Marcellus* moved by their Tears and Entreaties generously forgave them, received them into Favour, and from thenceforward continued to do the rest of the *Syracusians* all the good Offices he was able. The Senate ratified all that *Marcellus* had done, confirmed the Laws and Liberties he had restored to them, and secured them in the Possession of their Goods and Estates. The *Syracusians* in return decreed *Marcellus* all imaginable Honours, and made a particular Law, that when either He, or any of his Family came into *Sicily*, the *Syracusians* with Chaplets on their Heads should in a solemn manner offer Sacrifice to the Gods.

After This, *Marcellus* was sent against *Hannibal*. Since the Battel of *Canna* the other Consuls and Generals had used no other Policy against the *Carthaginians* but only to avoid coming to a Battel, none of them daring to engage, or even to come within sight of them. But *Marcellus* took a quite contrary Course, being fully persuaded that Delay, which was thought the best way to ruin and destroy *Hannibal*, would imperceptibly waste and consume *Italy*; and that *Fabius*, with his slow Maxims of Care and Caution, did not pursue a right Method to cure the Disorders of his Country; for before he could put an End to the War, *Rome* would be consumed and reduced to Ashes: Like an unskilful Physician, that out of Fear delays giving his Patient strong, but necessary Physick, till his Spirits are quite exhausted, and Nature sunk beyond the Possibility of a Recovery.

His first Success was the Retaking the chief Cities of the *Samnites* that had revolted from the *Romans*, in which he found great Quantities of Corn and Money; and, at the same time, three thousand of *Hannibal's* Soldiers, which he had left for the

Defence

Defence of those Places, were made Prisoners. After this *Cneus Fulvius* the Proconsul, with eleven Colonels, being slain by *Hannibal* in *Apulia*, and the whole Army entirely defeated, *Marcellus* dispatched Letters to *Rome* to animate and encourage the People, assuring them that he was actually upon his March against *Hannibal*, in order to drive him out of the Country. *Livy* informs us, that the Reading of these Letters was so far from lessening their Concern, that it increased their Fears; for they were in more Pain (1) for their present Danger than past Loss, as they accounted *Marcellus* a greater General than *Fulvius*.

He then advancing, as he had written, to give *Hannibal* Battel, marched into *Lucania*, where he found the Enemy encamped on inaccessible Heights near the City of *Numistro*. *Marcellus* continued with his Army all Night in the Plain, and the next Day, to shew his Resolution and Design, drew it up in order of Battel. *Hannibal* did not refuse this Offer, but coming down from the Hills, a Battel immediately ensued, which, tho' not decisive, was yet very terrible and bloody; for it began at three in the Afternoon, and continued 'till the Darkness of the Night put a Stop to it. The next Morning at break of Day *Marcellus* drew up his Army again among the dead Bodies, on the Field of Battel, and challenged *Hannibal* to renew the Fight, and decide the Contest. But *Hannibal* chose rather to draw off; whereupon *Marcellus*, after he had caused the Spoils of the Enemy to be gathered, and the Bodies of his dead Soldiers to be burnt, marched in Pursuit of him. And tho' *Hannibal*

(1) How was the Danger of the Romans greater, because *Marcellus* was a greater General? The Reason is plain; *Marcellus* was at that time the greatest General they had, and if he had happened to be slain, they would certainly have been in a very desperate Condition.

laid several Ambuscades for him in his March, by his prudent Conduct he escaped them All, and had the Advantage in every Skirmish and Encounter, which so much heightened his Reputation at Rome, that on the Approach of the *Comitia* to appoint new Consuls, (1) the Senate judged it more advisable to recal *Levinus*, the other Consul, from *Sicily*, than to give *Marcellus* the least Interruption, who was so successfully employed against *Hannibal*. As soon as *Levinus* arrived, he was ordered to name *Quintus Fulvius* Dictator; for the Dictator is neither named by the Senate or the People, but one of the Consuls or Generals advancing forward in the midst of the Assembly, names whomsoever he pleases; and the Person named is called *Dictator*, from the Word *Dicere*, which, in the *Latin*, signifies to name. Others will have it that he is called Dictator because he refers nothing to the Suffrages of the People, or a Plurality of Voices, but judges and determines every thing as he pleases by virtue of his own Authority: For the Magistrates Commands, which the *Greeks* style Orders, are by the *Romans* called *Edicts*.

(2) *Levinus* had a mind to name another Person Dictator, and not *Fulvius*, who was presented to him

(1) The Senate did not do this of their own proper Motion, but upon the Receipt of Letters from *Marcellus* Himself, acquainting them, that it would by no means be for the Advantage of their Affairs, that He should give over pursuing *Hannibal*. Whereupon the Senate, who were wise enough not to interrupt the Course of his Success, or hinder his further Designs, chose to recal the other Consul; and at the same time that they sent him Orders to return to Rome, they sent *Marcellus's* Letters, to let

him know the Reason why they recalled Him rather than his Colleague, who was at that time nearer home.

(2) *Levinus* had a mind to name *M. Valerius Messala*, who was Admiral of the Fleet. Upon a Representation made by the Tribune of the People, the Senate made a Decree, that the Consul should confirm whomsoever the People should name, and that upon His Refusal the Prætor of the City should confirm him; and that if He refused, the Tribunes should do

him by the Senate ; and because he would not be obliged to act contrary to his Opinion, he left *Rome* by Night, and sailed back for *Sicily*. Whereupon the People named *Q. Fulvius* Dictator, and the Senate at the same time wrote to *Marcellus* to confirm their Nomination, which he did ; after which he Himself was continued in his Command, and appointed Proconsul for the following Year.

After this having agreed with *Fabius Maximus* the Consul, by Letters, that *Fabius* should besiege *Tarentum*, while he watched *Hannibal's* Motions so carefully as to prevent his relieving that Place, he marched after him with all Diligence, and came up with him at *Cannusum* ; and as *Hannibal* shifted his Camp every Day to decline coming to a Battel, *Marcellus* pursued him closely, encamping constantly in his Sight, and appearing every Morning in a Readiness to engage him.

But at last coming unexpectedly upon him, as his Army was encamping in a Plain, he so harassed his Pioneers by little Skirmishes, that at length a general Battel ensued ; but the Night parted them again. Early the next Morning the *Romans* came out of their Intrenchments, and presented themselves once more in order of Battel ; which so provoked and enraged *Hannibal*, that calling all the *Carthaginians* together, he made a Speech to them, in which he conjured them valiantly to fight one Battel more, to maintain the Renown they had already gained, and to confirm to themselves the Fruits of all their former Victories : *For you see,*

do it themselves. The Consul did refuse to name or confirm him, and forbad the Prætor to intermeddle in an Affair that belonged to Him, and so departed for *Sicily*. The Tribunes named *Fulvius*, as chosen by the People ; but as the

Confirmation of the Consul seemed necessary, the Senate wrote to *Marcellus*, who made up that Defect, and did what his Colleague had refused. What a deal of Formality is there to violate an ancient Custom and abrogate a Law!

said he, *after all our Successes, and notwithstanding we are so lately come off Conquerors, we are scarce allowed room to breathe, nor are we like to enjoy any manner of Quiet, unless we drive this Man back.*

Immediately after this both Armies charged with great Fury; and the Event shewed that *Marcellus's* Miscarriage on this Occasion was owing (1) to an improper and ill-tim'd Motion. For seeing his right Wing pressed hard, he commanded one of his Legions to advance from the Rear to the Front, which occasioning a Disorder and Confusion among his Troops, gave the Victory to the Enemy, (2) above two thousand *Romans* being slain upon the Spot. When *Marcellus* had retreated into his Camp, he summoned the whole Army together, and said, *he saw the Arms of Romans, and the Bodies of Men before him, but not so much as one Roman.* And when they asked him Pardon for their Fault, he told them, *they must not expect it so long as they con-*

(1) The Greek says, *an unseasonable Stratagem*; but in our Language we don't call the Motion of a Body of Troops from the Rear to the Front, a *Stratagem*. *Pliny* relates the Fact plainly; he says, *Marcellus seeing his right Wing, consisting of the choicest Troops of the Allies, give way, ordered the eighteenth Legion to advance to the Front; and that the Former shamefully retreating, and the Latter advancing but slowly to take their Place, the whole Army was put into Disorder and the utmost Confusion.* *Livy* does not lay the Blame on *Marcellus*, but on the Troops that were ordered to support the right Wing, and who were wanting in their Duty. In short, it was no ill Conduct in *Marcellus* to make a Body of Troops pass from the Rear to the Front, to

support a Wing that stagger'd and began to give way. This is what is practised every Day, and ought always to be practised on the like Occasions: But the Defeat arose from hence, that the Troops which were commanded to advance moved but slowly. *Plutarch* therefore is mistaken here, in blaming the excellent Conduct of *Marcellus*, and ascribing the Defeat to Him, which was only owing to the Cowardice and Slowness of his Soldiers: This appears from the Consequence.

(2) Two thousand seven hundred of the *Romans* and their Allies; among whom were four *Roman* Centurions, and two Tribunes of the Soldiers. The Wing that fled, lost four Standards, and the Legion that should have supported them lost Two.

tinned

tinued beaten, but that he would grant it as soon as they had conquered; and that he would lead them to Battel again the next Day, that the News of their Victory might arrive at Rome before That of their Flight. When he dismiss'd them, he gave Orders (1) that Barley, instead of Wheat, should be given to those Companies that had turned their Backs and lost their Colours.

This Discourse made such an Impression upon the Soldiers, that tho' many of them had suffered very much, and were sorely wounded, yet there was not a Man among them All, to whom the General's Words were not more cutting and painful than his Wounds.

Early the next Morning the Scarlet Cassock, which was the Signal of Battel, was hung out; the Companies that came off with Dishonour in the last Engagement, at their earnest Request obtain'd Leave to be placed in the foremost Line; after which the Officers drew up the rest of the Troops in their proper Form and Order. When this was told to *Hannibal*, he cry'd out, *O ye Gods! what is to be done with a Man, who can neither support good nor bad Fortune? He is the only Man, who, when Conqueror, gives his Enemies no Rest, and when conquer'd, takes None himself. We must e'en resolve to fight with him for ever; for whether successful or not, the Shame of a Defeat always inspires him with new Courage, and spurs him on to further Attempts.*

The Trumpets immediately sounded to Battel, and both Armies engaged with Fury. *Hannibal* seeing the Advantage equal on both sides, commanded the Elephants to be brought up, and driven

(1) This was the common Punishment; to shew, that Cowards deserved to be used like Beasts. and not like Men. *Marcellus* likewise commanded that the Commanders of those Companies should continue all Day long with their Swords drawn, and without their Girdles. *Censurionesque manipulorum, quorum signa amissa fuerant, districtis gladiis discinctos destitui.* Liv. xxvii. 13.

against the Van of the *Roman* Army; which at first caused some Terror and Confusion amongst the foremost Ranks: But *Flavius* a Tribune snatching an Ensign from one of the Companies, advanced, and with the Point of it wounded the foremost Elephant, whereupon the Beast turning back ran upon the Second, and the Second upon the next that followed, and so on, 'till they were All put into Disorder. As soon as *Marcellus* perceived This, (1) he commanded his Horse to fall on, and second the Confusion the Elephants had caused, and by driving them farther on, quite overset the Enemy. The Cavalry, according to his Orders, attack'd the *Carthaginians* furiously, driving them back to their Intrenchments, and making a most grievous Slaughter; to which the Elephants contributed not a little, bruising Some in pieces by falling on them, trampling More under their Feet, and stopping the Flight of Others. Eight thousand *Carthaginians* were slain in this Battel; and on the *Roman* side three thousand, and almost all the rest wounded. By this means *Hannibal* had an Opportunity to decamp by Night, and remove to a good Distance from *Marcellus*, who, by reason of his wounded Men, was not in a Condition to pursue him, but retired with his Army by slow and easy Marches into *Campania*, and (2) passed the Summer at *Sinuessa*, to recover and refresh his Soldiers.

Hannibal having thus got clear of the Enemy, his Army acted in every respect as if they had been at full Liberty, and under no manner of Restraint;

(1) *Livy*, in my Opinion, gives a better Account; for he says the Foot fell upon the Enemy's Troops that were in Disorder; and as soon as *Marcellus* perceived them give way, he pour'd in his Horse upon them. xxvii. 14.

(2) *Livy* says in the City of Ve-

nusa; which is more probable. The great Number of wounded Men *Marcellus* had, would hinder him from going to *Sinuessa*, which was too far distant from the Neighbourhood of *Carnusium* where the Battel was fought.

for they over-ran the several Parts of *Italy* round about, ravaging and burning all before them. This gave occasion to evil Reports concerning *Marcellus*, and caused Murmurings against him at *Rome*; and his Enemies taking this Opportunity incited one *Publius Bibulus*, a Tribune of the People, a Man of Heat and Passion, and no contemptible Orator, to bring an Accusation against him. This Man had exclaimed against him publickly on several Occasions, and at this time used all his Endeavours to have the Command of the Army taken from him, and given to some other Person: For *Marcellus*, said he, *having exercised himself a little against Hannibal, has left the Stage of Battel, (1) and is gone to the Baths, to refresh himself after his Fatigue.*

Marcellus having received advice of these Practices, committed the Charge of the Army to his Lieutenants, and hastened to *Rome* to refute the false Accusations of his Enemies. At his Arrival he found a Charge drawn up against him, founded on those Calumnies. And when the Day of Hearing was come, and the People were assembled in the *Flaminian Circus*, *Bibulus* ascended the Tribune's Seat, and accused him with great Vehemence. *Marcellus's* Answer was plain and short; but the great Men and chief of the Citizens undertook his Defence very warmly, and spoke with great Liberty and Freedom, advising the People not to shew themselves worse Judges than the Enemy, by accusing *Marcellus* of Cowardise, who was the only General they had whom *Hannibal* took care to a-

(1) *Plutarch* puts this Piece of Wit into *Bibulus's* Mouth, supposing that *Marcellus* was gone to *Sinuessa*; for there were hot Baths near that City, famous for curing several Distempers, as *Strabo* particularly observes. But if *Marcellus* went to *Venusia*, as there is

no Room to doubt, then this Jest is quite lost; for there were no hot Baths near that Place. *Bibulus* thought it sufficient to reproach *Marcellus* with passing the Summer in Winter Quarters, that is, in Garrison without Doors; *Æstiva Venusia sub tectis agere.*

void, and constantly endeavoured not to be engaged with, tho' he courted it with all the rest.

When they had ended their Pleadings on both Sides, the Accuser's Hopes of obtaining Judgment against *Marcellus* were so far defeated, that he was not only acquitted, but a fifth time chosen Consul.

(1) As soon as he had entered upon his Office, he went to all the Cities of *Tuscany*, where, by his Presence only, without the Assistance of any Troops, he allay'd a very dangerous and seditious Commotion, that tended to a Revolt. At his Return he had a mind to dedicate to *Honour* and *Virtus* the Temple he had caused to be built out of the Spoils brought from *Sicily*, (2) but was hinder'd by the Priests, who thought it unbecoming the Honour due to the Gods, that one Temple should contain two Deities; he therefore (3) began the building of another

(1) According to *Livy*, *Marcellus* went into *Tuscany* before he was actually entered upon the Consulate the fifth Time, and that it was while he was only design'd for that Office. *Itaque confestim eo missus Marcellus Consul designatus, qui rem inspiceret. Liv. xxvii. 21.*

(2) This puts me in mind of the Man, who going to *Athens*, and seeing, at the Gate of the City, a Temple dedicated to two Gods, said, *I must e'en turn back again; for since they are forced to lodge two Gods at the Gate, I shall meet with no Lodging in the City.* But to return to *Marcellus*; *Plutarch* does not touch upon the true Cause that made the Priests oppose this Dedication; for it was, by no means, because they thought it unsuitable to their Dignity. *Livy* tells us the true Reason. *xvii. 25. Dedicatio ejus a Pontificibus impediabatur,*

quod negabant unam Cellam amplius quam uni Deo ritè dedicari; quia si de coelo tacta, aut prodigii aliquod in ea factum esset, difficultis procuratio foret, quod utri Deo divina res fieret sciri non posset; neque enim duobus, nisi certis Deis, ritè una hostia fieri. The Priests opposed this Dedication, because they affirmed that one Temple could not regularly be dedicated to more than one God; for if it was dedicated to Two, and it should happen to be visited with Lightning and Thunder, 'twould be difficult to make Expiation, because they could not know to which of the two Gods they ought to offer Sacrifice; and there are but some particular Gods to whom 'tis allowable to offer a single Sacrifice. Is not this a picafant Piece of Superstition?

(3) This Work was carried on and finished with great Diligence; tho'

another to *Virtue*, highly displeased at the Opposition he had met with, reckoning it an ill Omen.

Several other Prodigies happened at the same time, which troubled him very much; (1) some of the Temples were struck with Thunder, and the Gold in That of *Jupiter* was gnawed with Rats: And it was likewise reported, that an Ox had spoke; and that a Child had been born with an Elephant's Head, and was still alive; and in all the Expiatory Sacrifices that were offered on that occasion there was not One that manifested any favourable Tokens; wherefore the Augurs detained him still at *Rome*, notwithstanding his Ardour and Impatience to be gone; for never was Man inflamed with so great a desire of any thing in this World, as *Marcellus* was to bring *Hannibal* to a decisive Battel. This was the Object of his Dreams in the Night, and the constant Subject of his Conversation all Day with his Friends and Collegues: Nor did he make any other Request to the Gods; but that they would permit him to come to a thorough Engagement with that General. Nay, I verily believe he would gladly have encountered him in a single Combat at the Head of both Armies; and had not his Fame in War been through-

tho' *Marcellus* dedicated neither of them Himself, but about four Years after his Son dedicated them Both.

(1) These Prodigies did not happen at *Rome*, but One of them at *Capua*, and the Other at *Cuma*; as for That of the Rats, *Cicero* makes himself very merry with it in his eleventh Book *de Divinatione*. We are so giddy and foolish, that if the Rats happen to gnaw any thing, tho' we know it to be natural to them, we make a Prodigy of it. Before the War with the *Marfi*, because the

Rats had gnawed the Helmets at *Lanuvium*, the Augurs pronounced it a dreadful Omen; as if their gnawing a Buckler was more ominous than their gnawing a Sieve; for at this rate it will follow, that because the Rats, at my House, have gnawed *Plato's* Book of a Commonwealth, I ought to be under a Concern on an Account of the Publick Weal; or if they should happen to gnaw *Epicurus's* Book concerning Pleasure, I ought to apprehend a Scarcity of Provisions.

ly established, and the Proofs he had given, that for Prudence and Discretion he was inferior to no One whatever, been flagrant and incontestable, one would have thought he had been transported by a juvenile Heat and Ambition beyond what became a Person of his Age, for he was above sixty when he was chosen Consul the fifth time.

However as soon as the Diviners had finish'd such Sacrifices and Expiations as they judg'd proper, (1) He and his Colleague left *Rome*, in order to carry on the War against *Hannibal*; (2) and encamping between the Cities of *Bantia* and *Venusia*, he us'd all the ways he cou'd to provoke *Hannibal* to a Battel. This, *Hannibal* very industriously avoided; but having receiv'd Intelligence (3) that the Consuls were about to send Troops to besiege the City of the *Epizephyrians*, or western *Locrians*, he prepar'd an Ambuscade on their way near the Hill of *Petelia*, and slew two thousand five hundred of their Men. This enrag'd *Marcellus* beyond measure, and heighten'd his desire of coming to a Battel, so that he remov'd his Camp nearer to the Enemy. Be-

(1) His Colleague *Crispinus* left *Rome* before him, and marching into *Lucania*, laid Siege to *Locris*, which he rais'd as soon as he understood that *Marcellus* was arriv'd at *Venusia*, and had brought his Troops into the Field; and likewise that *Hannibal* was come near to *Lacinium*.

(2) This Passage has been mistaken by the Interpreters, who place *Hannibal* abiding between *Bantia* and *Venusia*; whereas they were the two Consuls that encamp'd between those two Cities, and not *Hannibal*; they had two Camps, three thousand Paces distant one from the other. *Itaque in Apuliam ex Brutiis reditum*

(says *Livy*). & inter *Venusiam Bantiamque* minus trium millium passuum intervallo Consules binis castris confederant. In eandem regionem & *Annibal* rediit. xxvii. 25.

(3) *Plutarch* does not sufficiently clear this Fact. From what he says, one would believe that the Consuls sent a Detachment of their Forces to undertake that Siege, which is a great Mistake. *Marcellus* and *Crispinus* were not so imprudent as to weaken their Army in fight of such an Enemy as *Hannibal*. They sent Orders to *L. Cincius* who was in *Sicily* to sail with his Fleet to *Locris*, and at the same Time caus'd the Garrison that was at *Tarentum* to march that

Between the two Armies was a little Hill, whose Ascent was pretty steep; it was cover'd with Bushes and Thickets, and on its Sides were Holes and hollow Places, from whence issued Springs and Currents of Water.

(1) The *Romans* admir'd that *Hannibal* coming first to so commodious a Place, shou'd not take Possession of it, but leave it for the Enemy. But if *Hannibal* judg'd it a proper Place for a Camp, he thought it much fitter for Ambuscades; and to that Use he chose to put it. To this end, he fill'd the Thickets and Hollows with Archers and Spear-men, not doubting but so advantageous a Situation wou'd entice the *Romans* thither. Nor was he mistaken in his Conjecture; for immediately This became the sole subject of Discourse all over the *Roman* Camp; and, as if they had been all Generals, every one was setting forth the Advantage they shou'd have over the Enemy by seizing on this Post, or at least raising a Fortification on it. *Marcellus*, mov'd at their discourse, thought fit to go Himself with some Horse to take a view of the Place; but before he went, order'd a Sacrifice to be offer'd. In the first Victim that was slain, the Diviner shew'd him the Liver without a Head; in the Second, (2) the Head of the Liver seem'd to grow plump and large all at once, and all the other Parts appear'd fresh and promising; so that all the Fears and Apprehensions occasion'd by the First, seem'd quite remov'd and swallow'd up by the great Hopes arising from the Last. But the Diviners thought otherwise, and declar'd that

that way; and these were the Troops *Hannibal* surpriz'd, by lying in Ambuscade near *Petelia*, which is upon the Coasts, above *Crotona*. *Liv.* xxvii. 26.

(1) But this is the very Thing that ought to have given the Ro-

mans a Suspicion, and have made *Marcellus* send to view the Place, without exposing his own Person.

(2) Every Thing that encreas'd and grew large was a good Sign; and whatever contracted and diminish'd was an ill Omen.

this

this only serv'd to encrease their Fears; for (1) whenever fair and auspicious Signs appear immediately after such as were imperfect and ill-boding, such a Change all on a sudden is very doubtful and suspicious; for, as *Pindar* says,

Nor Fire nor brazen Walls can ward off Fate.

Marcellus therefore leaving his Camp in order to view the Place, took with him his Collegue *Crispinus*, his Son *Marcellus* who was a Tribune of Soldiers, and about two hundred and twenty Horse, among which there was not one *Roman*; but they were all *Tuscans*, except forty *Fregellanians*, of whose Fidelity, Affection and Courage he had receiv'd signal and undoubted Proofs. On the top of the Hill, which, as we said before, was woody, and full of Brambles, was plac'd a Centinel, who, without being discern'd by the *Romans*, saw plainly all the Motions of their Army. They that lay in Ambush had Intelligence from Him of every thing that pass'd; and therefore lay close 'till *Marcellus* had reach'd the Foot of the Hill, when on a sudden they all rush'd out upon him, letting fly at him a shower of Arrows, and charging him on all sides with their Swords and Spears. Some pursued Those that fled, and Others attack'd Such as stood their Ground: These were the forty *Fregellanians*; for the *Tuscans* ran away at the first Charge. These clos'd themselves together in a Body, to defend and save the Consuls; 'till *Crispinus* being wounded by two Arrows, turn'd his Horse to make his Escape; and *Marcellus* being

(1) *Plutarch* explains *Livy's* Words here. *Nec id sane Aruspici placuisse, quod secundum trunca & turpia exta, nimis lata apparuissent.* The *Aruspex* was no way pleas'd when he saw the Entrails appear too fair and auspicious so soon after Those
 what appear'd maim'd and unpromising. The Diviner look'd upon so sudden a Change as a Mark of the Anger of the Gods, who had a mind to deceive and punish 'em for their Disbelief of the first Sign.

run quite through the Body with a Lance, fell down dead: then the few *Fregellians* that remain'd, leaving *Marcellus's* Body there, carry'd off his Son, who was already wounded, and fled with him to the Camp.

In this Skirmish there were not above forty Men slain; eighteen were taken Prisoners, besides five Lictors. (1) *Crispinus* died of his Wounds a few days after. (2) Never did such a Disaster befall the *Romans* before, to lose both their Consuls in one Engagement. *Hannibal* made little account of this Defeat, or the Prisoners that were taken; but when he heard that *Marcellus* was slain, he hasten'd to the Place of Battel, and coming near his Body, view'd it for some time, admiring its Strength and Mien; but without speaking one insulting Word, or expressing the least Sign of Joy at the Fall of so great and formidable an Enemy. He seem'd indeed surpriz'd at the strange and undeserved Death of so great a Man, and (3) taking his Signet from his Finger, commanded that his Body should be magnificently adorn'd and burnt; his Ashes put into a silver Urn with a Crown of Gold upon it, and sent to his Son. But certain

(1) He lived 'till towards the latter End of the Year, after he had nam'd *T. Manlius Torquatus* Dictator, to hold the *Comitia*. Some say he died at *Tarentum*, Others, in *Campania*.

(2) *Livy* contents himself with saying; *id quod nullo ante bello acciderat, duo Consules sine memorando proelio interfecti, velut orbam Rempublicam reliquerant.* What never happen'd in any former War, both the Consuls being slain in an Encounter not worth naming, left the Commonwealth as it were an Orphan. Eight Years before at the Battel of *Cannæ* the *Romans*

lost one of their Consuls, and the Year following they were Both slain.

(3) He design'd to make use of it to surprize the City of *Salapia*, by writing Letters in *Marcellus's* Name, and sealing them with his Signet; but *Crispinus* had the Prudence to acquaint all the neighbouring Cities with the Death of his Colleague, and that his Signet was in the Enemy's Hands. The Inhabitants of *Salapia* punish'd Deceit by Deceit; they deceiv'd *Hannibal*, who was forc'd to make a dishonourable Retreat, after losing some of his Troops.

Numidians

Numidians meeting Those that carried 'em, and falling upon them to take away the Urn, while the Others stood upon their Guard to defend 'em, it happen'd that in the Struggle the Ashes were spilt. When This was told to *Hannibal*, he said to Those about him, *You plainly see, 'tis impossible to do any thing against the Will of God.* He punish'd the *Numidians* for what they had done, but took no further Care to collect his Ashes, believing that 'twas decreed by the Gods that *Marcellus* shou'd die after so strange manner, and his Remains be deny'd the Honour of a Burial. This is what *Cornelius Nepos* and *Valerius Maximus* write; (1) but *Livy* and *Augustus* affirm that the Urn was carried to his Son *Marcellus*, and honour'd with a magnificent Funeral. *Marcellus's* publick Donations, besides what he dedicated at *Rome*, were a magnificent *Gymnasium*, or Wrestling-Place, at *Catana*, in *Sicily*; several Statues and Pictures brought from *Syracuse*, which he set up in the Temple of the Gods call'd *Cabiri* in the Island of *Samothracia*, and in the Temple of *Minerva* at *Lindum*; in which Last there was likewise a Statue of *Marcellus* with this Inscription, as *Posidonius* the Philosopher relates,

Behold here, Passenger, the Representation of Him, who was the Glory of his Country, Claudius Marcellus, who had been Seven times Consul, and often dyed the Earth with hostile Blood.

The Author of this Inscription adds to the Dignity of Consul That of Proconsul, with which he

(1) *Livy* does no way affirm This; on the contrary he says that *Hannibal* went forthwith and encamp'd on the Hill where the Engagement happen'd, and that finding *Marcellus's* Body, he caus'd it to be interr'd: *Castra in tumulum*

in quo pugnatum erat, ex templo transfert; ibi inventum Marcelli corpus sepelit. xxvii. 28.

As to *Augustus* I can say nothing, because what he has written, is not to be found.

was twice honour'd. (1) His Family flourish'd and continued in Grandeur and Honour even to *Marcellus*, who was the Son of *Caius Marcellus* and of *Octavia*, Sister to the Emperor *Augustus*; but he died very young, having been first *Ædile*, and married *Julia* the Emperor's Daughter, with whom he liv'd but a short time. (2) In honour of Him, his Mother *Octavia* dedicated a Library, and *Augustus* a Theatre, which were call'd the Library and Theatre of *Marcellus*.



The Comparison of Marcellus with Pelopidas.

THESE are the most remarkable Things we find in Story concerning *Marcellus* and *Pelopidas*, between Whom there was a perfect Resemblance in their Tempers and Behaviour: They were both Men of uncommon Strength of Body, couragious, and of indefatigable Industry; but there was this Difference, *Marcellus* in most of the Cities which he took by Assault suffer'd great Slaughter to be committed, whereas *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas* never spilt the Blood of any Man they had conquer'd, nor depriv'd any City they took of its Liberty. And 'tis affirm'd with great Assurance that if Either of them had been present, the *Thebans* had never enslav'd the *Orchomenians*.

As to their martial Exploits, nothing can be greater or more glorious than what *Marcellus* per-

(1) It continued after his Death of the 189th Olympiad, and 730th an hundred and eighty five Years; Year of Rome.
 for he was slain in the first Year of the 143d Olympiad, in the 545th Year of Rome, and 206 Years before our Saviour's Birth, and young *Marcellus* died in the second Year

(2) *Suetonius* and *Dion* give us to understand that it was not *Octavia*, but *Augustus*, that dedicated this Library.

The Comparison of

form'd against the *Gauls*, when with a handful of Horse only, he defeated and routed a powerful Army of Horse and Foot, which you will scarce find to have been done by any other General, and slew their King with his own Hand. *Pelopidas* attempted something of the like nature, but fail'd, and lost his Life in the Attempt. However, the famous Battels of *Leuctra* and *Tegyra* may justly be compar'd to those Exploits of *Marcellus*. But for Stratagem and Circumvention, (1) there is nothing in all the History of *Marcellus* that can be compar'd to what *Pelopidas* did at his Return from Exile, when he slew the *Theban* Tyrants; nor indeed is there any Exploit effected by Artifice and Surprize that can equal it.

It will perhaps be said, that the *Romans* had to do with *Hannibal*, who was a very formidable Enemy; but were not the *Thebans* engag'd against the *Lacedæmonians*? And 'tis certain, (2) that they were defeated by *Pelopidas* at *Leuctra* and *Tegyra*; whereas *Hannibal*, according to *Polybius*, was never once beaten by *Marcellus*, but continued invincible, 'till he was undertaken by *Scipio*. But we rather believe, with *Livy*, *Cornelius Nepos*, and *Cæsar*, the *Latin* Historians, and with (3) King *Juba* among the *Greeks*, that *Marcellus* in some Battels did defeat and put to Flight *Hannibal's*

(1) But this Advantage of *Pelopidas* above *Marcellus* was what the particular State of Affairs and of the *Theban* Government at that Time afforded him; Nothing of that kind cou'd possibly offer it self to *Marcellus*.

(2) Here is one substantial Advantage that *Pelopidas* has over *Marcellus*; the Victories he gain'd over the *Lacedæmonians* were more compleat than Those of *Marcellus* over *Hannibal*.

(3) The Son of *Juba* King of *Numidia*, who in the Civil War sided with *Pompey*, and was slain by *Petereius* in a single Combat. The Son, mention'd here by *Plutarch*, was brought in Triumph to *Rome* by *Cæsar*. His being taken Prisoner prov'd his great Happiness; for by that means he came to be educed in the Learning of the *Greeks* and *Romans*; and of a *Barbarian* became an excellent Historian.

whole Army; tho' the Advantages he gain'd were not of that Weight and Consequence to turn the Balance considerably on his side: On the contrary, they seem only to have been Lures or Baits, lay'd by the *Carthaginians* to ensnare him. But what has been very justly admir'd, and can never be sufficiently applauded is, (1) that notwithstanding the Defeat of so many Armies, the Slaughter of so many Generals, and the almost total Subversion of their whole Empire, *Marcellus* still inspir'd the *Romans* with such Confidence and Courage, that they never declin'd coming to an Engagement with the Enemy. In short, *Marcellus* was the only Person that not only remov'd that Consternation and Dread they had long lain under, but possess'd 'em with an eager Desire of Battel, and rais'd their Spirits to that height, that they wou'd never easily yield, but always dispute the Victory with Obstinacy and Resolution. For those very Men, whom constant ill Success had accustom'd to think themselves happy, (2) if they could but save their Lives by flying from the Enemy, He taught to be ashamed of coming off with Disadvantage, (3) to blush at the very thought of giving Way, and losing but an Inch of Ground, and to be very sensibly affected as oft as they came short of Victory.

(1) What *Plutarch* mentions here is so very great and wonderful, that this single Advantage, in my opinion, ought to give *Marcellus* the Preference before *Pelopidas*. This is set off in the greatest Light.

(2) *Plutarch* here transfers to the *Carthaginians* that fine Encomium, which *Horace* makes *Hannibal* give the *Romans*.

quos opimus
Fallere & effugere est triumphus.

(3) The Original has it, *to deny, or not confess they once thought of giving way*. But 'tis not possible *Plutarch* cou'd say a thing so trifling and foolish. Troops that have given way, may deny it as much as they please, but That will not blot out or lessen their Disgrace. Instead of ἀρνεῖσθαι *to deny*, it ought to be αἰδέσθαι, *to blush*, as one of the Manuscripts has it.

As

The Comparison of

As *Pelopidas*, all the time he commanded, never lost one Battel, and *Marcellus* won more than any General of his Time, (1) it will perhaps be thought that the great Numbers of his Victories ought to put him on a level with *Pelopidas* who was never once beaten.

On the other hand, *Marcellus* took *Syracuse*, whereas *Pelopidas* cou'd never make himself Master of *Sparta*; (2) tho', in my Opinion, the taking of *Syracuse* was not so great an Action as advancing to the Walls of *Sparta*, and being the First that pass'd the River *Eurotas* with an Army; unless it may be said, that *Epaminondas* had at least an equal Share in the Glory of This, as well as of the Battel at *Leuctra*; whereas the Renown *Marcellus* gain'd was solely and entirely his Own. He alone took the City of *Syracuse*, He defeated the *Gauls* without the Help of his Collegue, He made Head against *Hannibal*, not only without the Assistance of any other General, but even when All the rest endeavour'd to dissuade him from it, and to infect him with their Fears; so that 'twas He alone that quite chang'd the Face of the War, gave the *Romans* an Example of a bold and daring Resolution, and taught 'em to make a brave and intrepid Stand against the Enemy.

As to their Deaths, I commend Neither of them; nor can I but lament so sad a Fate. On the contrary, I admire *Hannibal*, who in all the Battels he

(1) Here is the most that cou'd be said in Favour of *Marcellus*; he fought many Battels, and by the vast Number of his Victories became in some measure equal to *Pelopidas* who was never beaten.

(2) This is a bold Saying, and very much to the Honour of the *Lacedemonians*, tho' I suspect it to be more specious than true. *Plu-*

tarch had too great a Notion of the *Lacedemonians*. The taking *Syracuse*, when defended by so many Fleets and Armies, and which is still more, by *Archimedes*, after it had held out three Years, is without Comparison a greater Action, than passing the River *Eurotas*, and advancing to the Walls of *Sparta*.

fought,

fought, which 'twou'd be tiresome to relate, never receiv'd one Wound; and I both esteem and applaud (1) *Chryfantes* in the *Cyropædia*, who having his Sword lifted up and going to strike, upon hearing the Trumpets sound a Retreat, calmly and modestly retir'd, without giving the Stroke. (2) But what may plead *Pelopidas's* Excuse is, that besides being transported and hurried on by the Heat of Battel, his heroick Ardor was further inflam'd by a brave and noble Desire of Revenge. So that, as *Euripides* says, (3) 'Tis highly great and meritorious in a General to win a Victory, and come off safe. But if he must die, 'tis glorious to fall; surrendring his Life into the Hands of Virtue; (4) for by that means his Death becomes not a Passion, but Action. Besides, the Anger and Resentment with which *Pelopidas* was fir'd, and the End propos'd in conquering, which was the Death of a Tyrant, was an Excuse for his Rashness; for it was not easy for him to meet with another Opportunity so glorious and honourable.

(1) He was an Officer in *Cyrus's* Army, mentioned by *Xenophon* in the Beginning of the fourth Book of his *Cyropædia*. After having given great Proof of his Bravery in the Battel, he gave still greater of his exact Obedience and good Discipline, for which he deserv'd the Commendation of his General.

(2) 'Twas impossible to set off to more Advantage every thing that cou'd render *Pelopidas's* Death more excusable than *Marcellus's*. The Time, the Place, the Object, and the very Enemy, every Thing makes for *Pelopidas*, and against *Marcellus*.

(3) This is a Passage out of one of *Euripides's* Pieces that is

lost; the Lines *Plutarch* refers to are these,

Σώζεις νικῶν ἄριστον στρατηλάτην,
Εἰδὲ θανεῖν χρέαν, ὥδε θανεῖν καλὸν,
Εἰς ἀρετὴν καταλύσαντα τὸν βίον.

(4) 'Twas necessary to retain the Philosophical Terms, to preserve the Beauty, Force, and good Sense of the Expression. The Death of Such as die in Practice of Virtue is an Action, like all the other Actions of their Lives; whereas the Death of Such as die otherwise is only Passion or Suffering. What a Difference is there!

But as to *Marcellus*, the Case is quite different; he lay under no urgent Necessity, (1) he was not carry'd away by that Fury and Enthusiasm that stifles Reason, and shuts the Eyes in the greatest Danger; but he threw himself headlong into it, and died, not like a General, but like a Scout, or Spy, (2) entrusting his five Consulates, his three Triumphs, the Spoils of Kings, with all his Trophies and Laurels, (3) to a Company of *Spanish* and *Numidian* Adventurers, mercenary Wretches, that had sold their Lives to the *Carthaginians* for Hire: an Accident so strange and surprizing, that they in some measure even envy'd themselves such an unhop'd-for piece of Success, that the bravest, most powerful and most renown'd of all the *Romans* shou'd fall by their Hands at the Head of a few *Fregellanian* Scouts.

(4) But let it not be thought that what I have said here is design'd as an Accusation against these great Men, but rather as a Complaint to them of the Injury done Themselves in preferring their Courage to all their other Virtues, and as a free Ex-

(1) For these Transports, which 'tis impossible to overcome, in some measure excuse *Pelopidas*; whereas what *Marcellus* did was in cold Blood.

(2) These Strokes carry a great Force with them. The Honours a General has receiv'd, the great Actions he has perform'd, his Victories and his Triumphs, are all of 'em so many Motives to restrain and hinder him from rashly exposing himself to Dangers beneath his Glory and Courage. But why does *Plutarch* put three Triumphs here, when he has only given an Account of two?

(3) *Plutarch* has more than once had a Fling at those Mercenary

Troops that hire themselves out, and sell their Lives for Pay. However there have been such People in all Times, and we find in *Hermer* Some that dealt in that kind of Traffick; and many good Reasons might be brought, not only in Justification, but even in Commendation of such a Practice.

(4) *Plutarch* shews great Modesty here. He will not have the Judgment he passes on the Death of these great Men, to be taken for an Accusation against 'em, but a Complaint address'd to Themselves. There is a Decency in it that can never be too much commended.

postulation

postulation with 'em for being so prodigal of their Lives, when they ought rather to have preserv'd them for the sake of their Allies, their Country, and their Friends.

In short, *Pelopidas* was bury'd by his Friends, in whose Cause he was slain, and *Marcellus* by those very Enemies that slew him. (1) The former was a Happiness that might be envy'd; but the latter End was more great and glorious: since 'tis much more for an Enemy to admire and honour that Virtue by which he has suffer'd, than for a Friend to be thankful to That, which has been beneficial to him. In the first case the Honour is pure and sincere, without the least Mixture of Alay; in the last, more Regard is had to Interest or Necessity, than to real Worth and Virtue.

(1) This Determination is very judicious as well as true; and the Reasons *Plutarch* gives for it, make it very plain and evident.





THE
L I F E
O F
A R I S T I D E S.



Aristides, the Son of *Lyfimachus*, was of the Tribe of *Anthiobis*, and Borough of *Alopece*: But (1) concerning his Wealth or Estate, Authors are not agreed. Some affirm that he was always very poor, and that he left two Daughters behind him, who remained a long time unmarried by reason of their Poverty: But *Demetrius* the *Phalerian* contradicts this general Opinion in his *Socrates*, and affirms, that he knew a Farm at *Phalera*, that went by *Aristides's* Name, where he was buried; and to shew the wealthy Condition of his Family produces three Proofs; the first was the Office of that *Archon*, by

(1) When *Plutarch* enquires into *Aristides's* Riches and Estate, 'tis not that he makes any account of them, as such, but because, at *Athens*, a Person's Wealth shew'd what Rank and Figure he held in the Commonwealth.

(1) whose



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10



(1) whose Name the Year was distinguished, and which fell to Him by Lot; to which Office None were admitted but Such as, by the Valuation of their Estates, appeared to be of greatest Eminency, and who having an Income of five hundred Measures of Corn, or some other Produce, were call'd *Pentacosmedimnoi*. (2) The second Proof is the Ostracism, or ten Years Banishment, which was never inflicted on the meaner Sort, but only upon Persons of Quality and Distinction, whose Grandeur and Authority expos'd them to the Envy of the People. The third and last Proof he brings (3) are the Tripods *Aristides* dedicated in the Temple of *Bacchus*, as Offerings for his Victory at the Publick Games, which continue there to this Day, with this Inscription on them, *The Tribe Antiochis obtained the Victory, Aristides defray'd the Charges, and Archesstratus's Play was acted.*

But this last Proof, tho' in Appearance the strongest of all, is, in reality, very weak; (4) for *Epaminondas*, who, all the World knows, liv'd and

(1) Ἐπώνυμον Ἀρχὴν. At Athens they reckoned the Years by their Archons, as the Romans did theirs by their Consuls. One of the Nine Archons was for this Purpose chosen by Lot out of the Rest, and His Name inscribed in the Publick Records or Registers.

(2) This would have been a good Proof, if the Ostracism had been inflicted only upon Such as were rich and wealthy; But as it was likewise decreed against Such as were distinguished by their Virtue or any other extraordinary Abilities, this Argument is of no Force; and *Plutarch*, a little after, with very great Reason opposes it.

(3) But neither is this Proof uncontestable, as *Plutarch* shews a little lower; because these Tripods might have been dedicated by another Person of the same Name. Besides, Tripods were often the Prizes won at those publick Games, as may be seen in *Homer*, and were very commonly hung up in Temples.

(4) But both these Examples may still leave the Proof in its full Force; because *Epaminondas* and *Plato* might very possibly be the first Persons that enjoyed the Advantage of their Friends Generosity in supplying the Expence they were obliged to be at in exhibiting Shews to the People.

died poor, and *Plato* the Philosopher, who was not very rich, exhibited very expensive Shews; the Former defraying the Charge of a Concerto of Flautists at *Thebes*, and the Latter an Entertainment of Singing performed by Boys at *Athens*; *Dion* having supply'd *Plato*, and *Pelopidas Epaminondas* with what Money was necessary for that purpose; for good Men have not sworn an irreconcilable Enmity to the Presents of their Friends; they look indeed upon Those that are taken to hoard, and with an avaritious Intention, vile and dishonourable, but refuse them not when Honour and Reputation may be served by them without any Suspicion of Avarice.

As to the Tripod in the Temple of *Bacchus*, *Panetius* shews plainly that *Demetrius* was deceived by the Similitude of Names; for from the time of the *Median* to the End of the *Peloponnesian* War there are upon Record only two of the Name of *Aristides* that carried the Prize at the Shews they exhibited, neither of which was the Son of *Lyfimachus*; the First of the Two being the Son of *Xenophilus*, and the Latter living a long time after, (1) as appears from the Characters, which were not in use till after *Euclid's* Time; and likewise from the Name of the Poet *Archestratus*, which is not to be found in any Re-

(1) *Panetius's* Meaning is, that the Victory which *Aristides* won at the publick Shews being written in the Records in different Characters from Those in use before the *Peloponnesian* War, That *Aristides* could not possibly be the Son of *Lyfimachus* that fought at the Battel of *Marathon*. Hence we may observe that about the time of this *Peloponnesian* War the Greek Characters were altered, and that in Greece they judg'd of Times by the Make of the Characters, as we do now. This *Euclid* was

the great Mathematician, whose Works still remain, who, after the Death of *Socrates*, was *Plato's* Master. But further, there seems to be a Fault in the Original Greek, τῆς μετ' Εὐκλείδην ὄντα γραμματικῆς. Writing is the thing spoken of here, and not Grammar. Was the Art of Writing ever called γραμματικὴ? *M. Salvinus* makes it γραμμικῆς, which is agreeable to the Sense, γραμμικὴ, the Art, the Manner of making Characters.

cord or Author, during the Wars with the *Medes*; (1) whereas it appears from Both, that a Poet of that Name had Plays acted in the time of the *Peloponnesian War*. (2) But this Argument of *Panætius*'s ought to be more thoroughly examined.

As for the Ostracism, (3) 'tis very certain that it fell indifferently upon All that were any way distinguished by Birth, Reputation, or Eloquence; infomuch that even *Damon*, Præceptor to *Pericles*, was banished by it, because he seemed to excel other Men in Knowledge and Wisdom. And further, *Idomeneus* says, that *Aristides* did not attain the Office of Archon by Lot, but by free Choice and Election of the People. And indeed, (4) if this happened after the Battel of *Platea*, as the same *Demetrius* writes, 'tis highly probable, that having gained such Renown by his Atchievements, he was called to this high Office for his Virtue, which Others obtain'd on account of their Wealth and Riches. But 'tis plain that *Demetrius* was resolved to free *Socrates*, as well as *Aristides*, from a Charge of Poverty, as if it were a Crime or Reproach to be poor, since he affirms, that the Former, besides

(1) This being granted, I do not see the Reason why the learned *Vossius* has plac'd the Poet *Archestratus* among Such as liv'd at a Time not certainly known, since we find here that he flourished during the *Peloponnesian War*, which lasted twenty seven Years.

(2) And indeed it may in some measure be reply'd to; for the same Poet that had Plays acted in the time of the *Peloponnesian War*, might have Some acted likewise during the War with the *Medes*; and so the Inscription mentioned above by *Plutarch* might belong to our *Aristides*.

(3) A certain Proof that such Persons as were sentenced to undergo this Kind of Banishment were not always rich.

(4) But *Demetrius* was mistaken; for *Aristides* never was Archon after the Battel of *Platea*, which was fought in the second Year of the 75th *Olympiad*. In the List of Archons the Name of *Aristides* is found in the fourth Year of the 72d *Olympiad*, a Year or two after the Battel of *Marathon*; and in the second Year of the 74th *Olympiad*, four Years before the Battel of *Platea*.

a House of his Own, (1) had seventy *Mina's* in ready Money, at Interest with *Criton*.

(2) But to return to *Aristides*; he had an intimate Friendship with (3) *Cleisthenes*, who settled the Government of the Commonwealth after the Expulsion of the Tyrants; and he had entertained a particular Veneration and Esteem for *Lycurgus*, the Spartan Legislator, preferring him so much above all other Statesmen, as to make him a Pattern for Himself to imitate: From thence he came to be a Favourer of Aristocracy, wherein he was always

(1) This appears to be false from what *Socrates* himself says in his Apology to his Judges, where he declares, that considering his Poverty, they cou'd not condemn him to pay a Fine of more than one *Mina*, and if he should be fin'd thirty *Mina's*, 'twou'd be only because *Crito*, *Critobulus*, and *Apolodorus* were resolved to bear him harmless and pay his Fine for him. The falsity of this likewise appears from what *Crito* said to *Socrates* in Prison, as 'tis related in the Dialogue so called.

(2) I cannot forbear exposing a Fault of *Amiot*, and some other Translators in this Place, because 'tis a very remarkable one. They have translated it, *after the Expulsion of the thirty Tyrants*. Here is nothing at all said about the thirty Tyrants, for they were not expelled 'till seventy-seven or seventy-eight Years after the Battel of *Platea*, and above ninety two Years after That of *Marathon*, and consequently *Cleisthenes*, who was older than *Aristides*, could not have established the Government of *Athens* after the Expulsion of those thirty Tyrants. *Plutarch* speaks here of the *Pisistratides*, who were expelled

about the sixty-sixth *Olympiad*, three and twenty Years before the Battel of *Marathon*, and an hundred and fifteen before *Athens* was delivered from the Thirty Tyrants; so that the Word *thirty* is not in the Original, but is added by them, being led into the Mistake by the word *Tyrants*, as if *Athens* never had any Tyrants besides the thirty that were established there by *Lysander*; and this Error caused great Confusion in this History. This *Cleisthenes* was the Grandson of *Cleisthenes* Tyrant of *Sicyon*, who had married his only Daughter *Agarista* to *Megacles* the Son of *Alcmaon*, and *Megacles* called his eldest Son *Cleisthenes*, which was the Name of his Mother's Father.

(3) We must take the Meaning of this Passage from the Words of *Herodotus*, l. vi. p. 122. τῶν δὲ συνοικησάντων γίνεται Κληθένης τε ὁ τὰς φυλὰς καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν Ἀθηναίοις κατὰσῃσας. From this Marriage of *Agarista* to *Megacles*, sprang this *Cleisthenes*, who established the Tribes and popular Government at *Athens*. He did not restore, but establish it.

opposed

opposed by *Themistocles*, who stood up for a Popular Government. Some Authors write indeed, that being bred up together from their Infancy, when they were Boys, they were always at Variance, not only in serious Matters, but even at their Sports and Diversions; and that this continual Opposition very much discovered their natural Dispositions; the One being compliant, daring, artful and subtle to compass his Ends, and carried to every thing upon slight Grounds and with great Eagerness; whereas the Other was firm and steady in his Behaviour, immoveable in every thing that appeared just, and incapable of using the least Falshood, Flattery, Disguise, or Deceit, so much as in Jest. But (1) *Aristo* of *Chio* writes that their Enmity took its Rise from Love, and from thence grew to so great a height; for being Both enamoured of *Stefileus* of the Island of *Ceos*, the most beautiful Youth of his time, they were unable to restrain their Passion within Bounds, but conceived such a Jealousy and Hatred of each other as survived the Beauty of the Boy; but as if This had been an Exercise to prepare them for future Quarrels, they soon after entered upon the Administration of publick Affairs, heated and exasperated by their former Piques and Animosities.

As for *Themistocles*, by his Management at first, and by gaining Friends, he strengthened himself with a considerable Interest and Authority; so that

(1) There have been several Writers of this Name, the Two principal of which are *Aristo* of *Chio*, a Stoick, and *Aristo* of *Ceos*, a Peripatetick Philosopher: They have been often confounded. What *Plutarch* relates here, was certainly taken from a Work entitled *ἐρωτικῶν διατριβῶν*, or *ἐρωτικὰ ὄμοια*, which was a Collec-

tion of Love-Intrigues. Some ascribe it to *Aristo* of *Chio*, and Others, among whom is *Athenaus*, to *Aristo* of *Ceos*. I am of the latter Opinion; for such a Work seems to me more agreeable to a Peripatetick, than to a Stoical Philosopher; and I would have the Reading in *Plutarch* be, *Aristo* of *Ceos*.

to one, who told him, *he would govern the Athenians admirably, provided he would take Care to avoid Partiality*, he replied, *God forbid that I shou'd ever sit on a Tribunal where my Friends should not meet with more Favour and Respect than Strangers.*

On the contrary, *Aristides* took a very particular Course in his Way and Manner of Governing; for first of all, he would never do the least Injustice to oblige his Friends, nor yet disoblige 'em by denying all they asked, and refusing to grant the least and most inconsiderable Favour: And in the next place, considering that most Rulers relying on the Power of their Friends, are led to abuse their Authority, and be guilty of Injustice, he guarded carefully against it, by representing strongly to his Mind and always saying, that the true Citizen, the Man of Integrity, ought to make his whole Strength and Security consist in advising and doing every where and upon all Occasions what is just and fit to be done. In the mean time, *Themistocles* made several rash Attempts, opposing him in all his Designs and breaking all his Measures, which put him under a necessity of thwarting *Themistocles* in whatever He proposed, as well in his own Defence, and by way of Retaliation, as to put a Stop to his growing Power, which increased daily through the Favour of the People; for (1) He thought it better to obstruct some Things that might even be advantageous to the Publick, than to suffer *Themistocles* to become absolute, and carry All before him with a high Hand.

(1) This Maxim in Politicks, tho' it appears dangerous, is yet very solid and true. 'Tis better to oppose and hinder some Things that might be useful to the Publick, than to suffer an ambitious Man, who may make an ill use of his Power, to carry All before him, because in the Course of his Proceedings he may do some Things that will be more hurtful, than the Particular that was hindered from succeeding, would have been advantageous to the Commonwealth.

In fine, *Themistoclos* having on a certain Occasion proposed an Affair of great Importance and Advantage, *Aristides* opposed it more strenuously than any Body ; but as he went out of the Assembly, he could not forbear saying aloud, *That the Athenians would never be safe and easy 'till they sent Themistocles and Himself to Prison.*

Another time having somewhat to propose to the People, and perceiving it was like to meet with great Opposition, just as the President was going to put it to the Question, as if He had foreseen the Inconveniences that would ensue, he let the Matter drop of his own Accord, without the least Heat or Discomposure imaginable. He likewise proposed his Sentiments very often by a Second or Third Hand, for fear *Themistocles*, out of Envy and Hatred to him, might oppose what would be for the Good of the Publick.

But what was much to be admir'd in him, was his Constancy and Firmness in those sudden and unexpected Changes, to which Persons concerned in the high Affairs of State are always liable; for he was never elated by any Honours he received, nor dejected by the Contempt or Denials he met with, but always serene and easy; it being his fixed Opinion, that a Man ought to be entirely at his Country's Command, and ready to serve it on all Occasions, without the least Prospect of Honour or Profit. (1) Thence it came to pass, that the Day a Play of *Æschylus*, entitled *The Seven Leaders against Thebes*, was acted, at the speaking of these Verses made by the Poet in Praise of *Amphiaraus*,

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The LIFE of

- (1) *He aims at real Worth without the Show,
Reaping the Fruits that in a rich Mind grow,
Whence sage Advice and noble Actions flow;*

the Eyes of all the Audience were turned upon *Aristides*, as the Person to whom this great Encomium was most applicable. For he had so strong an Inclination to Justice, as not to be influenced against it by Favour or Friendship, nor, which is still more difficult, by Anger and Malice. To this purpose 'tis reported of him, that prosecuting One that had injured him at Law, and, after he had given in the Heads of his Accusation, finding that the Judges were going to pass Sentence without hearing the Person accused, he rose from his Seat, and seconded the Request of his Adversary to be heard, and not to be denied the Benefit of the Law.

Another time sitting as Judge in a Cause between two private Persons, and one of 'em beginning to say, that *his Adversary had in his Life-time done Aristides many Injuries*, he interrupted him, saying, *Friend, tell me only what Injuries he has done to Thee, for 'tis Thy Cause, and not Mine, which I sit to judge.*

Being chosen Publick Treasurer, he soon made it appear that not only Those of his Time, but the preceding Officers, had applied great Sums of the Publick Money to their own Use, and particularly

(1) These Verses are spoken by the Courier who brings *Eteocles* an Account of the Enemies Attacks, and of the Persons that commanded among 'em; but *Plutarch* has changed one Word, putting *Νίκαιος* just, instead of *Ζεῦς* valiant, which *Æschylus* used. He was not speaking of Justice, but Valour; the Courier said, that *Amphiaraus* had no Device or In-

scription on his Shield like therest, for, added he, 'Tis his Aim not to appear brave, but to be so. What an Honour was this to *Aristides*, that all the People in a full Theatre should apply a Passage to him, which contained so vast an Encomium! Indeed these Verses are in themselves extremely fine, and *Plato* in the second Book of his Republick, has well apply'd them.

Themisto-

Themistocles; who, tho' he was a very wise Man, had no great Command of his Fingers. For which Reason, when *Aristides* was to give in his Accounts, *Themistocles* raised a strong Party against him, accused him of misapplying the publick Money, and procured his Condemnation, as *Idomeneus* writes: But the chief and best Men of the City opposing so unjust a Sentence, he was not only acquitted of the Fine imposed on him, but likewise appointed Treasurer for the following Year.

Whereupon, pretending to disapprove of his former Conduct, and to alter it for the future, and appearing more compliant, easy, and remiss in examining their Accounts and exposing their Frauds, he made himself acceptable to Such as had robbed the Publick; infomuch that They extolled him to the Skies, and made Interest with the People to continue him in his Office another Year. But on the Day of Election, as the *Athenians* were just going unanimously to pitch upon him again, he rebuked 'em severely, saying, *When I discharged my Office, and managed your Treasure with the Care and Fidelity that became an honest Man, I was reviled and treated like a Villain; but now, when I have taken no Care of it, but left it to the Discretion of these publick Robbers, I am an excellent Person, and an admirable Patriot. I therefore declare to you that I am more ashamed of the Honour done me to-day, than of the Sentence pass'd against me last Year; and 'tis with Indignation and Concern that I see 'tis more meritorious with You to oblige ill men, than faithfully to manage the Publick Revenue.* By speaking thus, and discovering their Frauds, he stopped the Mouths of all those Robbers of the Publick, who were at the very same time crying him up and giving ample Testimony in his Behalf, and likewise gained the just and real Applause of all good Men.

In

In the mean time *Datis*, who was sent by the King of *Persia*, under pretence of revenging on the *Athenians* their burning of *Sardis*, but in reality to conquer all *Greece*, arrived on the Coast of *Marathon*, and began to plunder and ravage all the neighbouring Country. The *Athenians* appointed ten Generals to command in this War, of whom *Miltiades* was the chief; and the next to Him both in Reputation and Authority was *Aristides*. In a Council of War that was held, *Miltiades* declared for giving the Enemy Battel, and *Aristides* seconding his Opinion (1) contributed not a little to their coming to that Resolution. And as these Generals had the chief Command by Turns one after another; when the Day came that gave *Aristides* the Command, he resigned it to *Miltiades*, thereby shewing the rest of the Commanders, that 'twas in no respect inglorious to obey and follow the Direction of the wisest Men; but on the contrary, very safe and honourable. Thus, by his own Example, allaying that Jealousy which might have occasioned great Debates, and making 'em sensible of their Happiness in being guided by a Person of the best Experience, he confirmed *Miltiades* in an absolute and undivided Command of the Army, the other Generals no longer minding when it came to their Turn, (2) but submitting, in every thing, entirely to his Orders.

In

(1) In this Council, the Opinion against hazarding a Battel, for this Reason, because the Enemy was superior in Number, carried it by a great Majority; but *Miltiades* having brought over *Callimachus* to his Side, who was *Polemarch* at that Time, and whose Authority was equal to that of ten Generals, the Opinion for fighting prevailed; and indeed *Aristides* had

a great Share in bringing *Callimachus* to this Resolution; and thus 'tis, in my Opinion, that *Plutarch* and *Herodotus* may be reconciled.

(2) *Plutarch* here omits mentioning one Particular in *Miltiades*'s Conduct, which in my Opinion deserves Notice, and which is related by *Herodotus*; that tho' the other Generals had given up to him their respective Turns, yet

Miltiades

In this Battel, (1) the main Body of the *Athe-
nian* Army being hard press'd, and suffering much,
because the *Barbarians* made their greatest Efforts
there for a long time against the Tribes *Leontis*
and *Anthiochis*, at the Head of which *Themistocles*
and *Aristides* fought, the One being of the Tribe
of *Leontis*, and the Other of *Anthiochis*, and they
fought with such Emulation, Bravery, and Success,
that they broke the Body of the Enemy, and drove
them back to their Ships. But perceiving, that, in-
stead of sailing towards the Isles in order to return
to *Asia*, (2) they were forced in by the Winds and
Currents towards *Attica*; and fearing lest they
should surprize the City unprovided for a Defence,
they hastened to its Assistance with nine Tribes, and
(3) marched with such Diligence and Expedition,
that they arrived there the same Day.

But *Aristides* being left with his Tribe at *Mar-
athon* to guard the Prisoners and Booty, fully an-

Miltiades would not fight on any
of their Days of Command, but
waited for his Own. For no doubt
he was afraid that the Person whose
Turn he took, had resigned his
Command unwillingly, and only
upon the score of following the
Example of Others. and that out
of Envy to Him, he would be less
careful to do his Duty in the Bat-
tel, because he would not be over-
forward to contribute to the Re-
putation of Him, who, as it were,
took the Command out of his
Hand. Experience has sometimes
shewn, that this shameful Jealousy
has prejudiced the most worthy
Designs, and rendered 'em unsuc-
cessful, or at least, a long time
doubtful.

(1) For the main Body was
worse provided and weaker than
the Wings, for which Reason the

Barbarians made their greatest Ef-
forts there. *Herodot. l. iv.*

(2) *Herodotus* observes particu-
larly that they designed to double
the Cape of *Surium*, to surprize
Athens before the *Athenians* cou'd
arrive to assist it. And *Herodotus's*
Testimony in this Matter is of ve-
ry great Weight, because he had
learned the Particulars of the Bat-
tel of *Marathon*, from Some that
had been there present.

(3) From *Marathon* to *Athens*
is about forty Miles; and 'tis very
expeditious indeed for an Army,
after the Fatigues of a long Bat-
tel, to march so far the same Day.
Herodotus writes, that they
marched from about the Temple
of *Hercules* at *Marathon*, and en-
camped near his Temple at *Cyno-
sarges*, before *Athens*.

swered

swered the good Opinion that had been conceived of him; for tho' there was much Gold and Silver in several Parts of the Camp, and that all the Tents and Ships they had taken, were full of sumptuous Apparel, Furniture, and Riches of all sorts; yet he forbore touching any thing Himself, and did all he could to hinder every Body else from meddling with any Part of it. But notwithstanding his strict Orders, there were Some that found their Account, and enriched themselves, unknown to him; among whom was *Callias* (1) the Torch-bearer. One of the *Barbarians* meeting him privately, and probably taking him for a King on account of his long Hair, and the Fillet about his Head, fell on his Knees before him, and taking him by the Hand, discovered to him a great Quantity of Gold that was hid in the bottom of a Well: But *Callias* shewed himself on this Occasion the most cruel and unjust of Men, for not satisfied with the whole Treasure, he killed the poor Wretch upon the Spot, to prevent any further Discoveries. From thence, 'tis said, the comick Poets called his Family *Laccopluti*, which is as much as to say, *enriched by the Well*, jesting on the Place from whence their Founder derived his Wealth. The next Year after this Battel, *Aristides* was chosen first *Archon*, or the *Archon* from whence the Year takes its Name; tho' *Demetrius Phalerius* assures us, that he never enjoyed that Office 'till after the Battel of *Platea*, a little before his Death; but if we consult the publick Registers, we shall no where find *Aristides's* Name in the List

(1) This Office of Torch-bearer was very considerable, because he was admitted to the most secret Mysteries. We find that *Pausanias* in his *Atticks*, thinks a Woman's good Fortune very great, because she had seen her Brother, her Husband, and her Son, successively enjoy this Office. This *Callias* was Cousin-German to *Aristides*, as will appear hereafter.

of *Archons*, (1) after *Xanthippides*, in the Time of whose *Archonship*, *Mardonius* was defeated at *Platea*; whereas his Name may be seen upon Record (2) immediately after *Phanippus*, who was *Archon* that Year the famous Battel of *Marathon* was fought.

Of all *Aristides's* Virtues, the best known, and That by which he was most distinguished, was his Justice, as being of most constant Use, and of the greatest Extent. Thence, from being a Person of mean Fortune and Birth, he acquired the most Royal and Divine Sirname, or Appellation of *Just*, a Title Kings and Tyrants were never fond of. They rather chuse to be stiled *Poliorcetes*, i. e. *Takers of Cities*; *Cerauni*, Thunderbolts; *Nicanors*, Conquerors. Nay Some have been pleased with the additional Appellation of *Eagles* and *Vultures*, preferring the Vain-glory of those Names that signify nothing but Force and Violence, to the Substantial Honour of such as denote real Virtue. Whereas the Deity itself, to whom they are fond of being likened and compared, seems to be distinguished only by three Things, Immortality, Power, and Virtue; of which, (3) Virtue is without Dispute the most

(1) Indeed after *Xanthippides*, or *Xanthippus*, who is recorded to have been *Archon* in the second Year of the 75th *Olympiad*, *Aristides's* Name is not to be found in the List of *Archons*, which is a certain Proof that he never executed that Office after the Battel of *Platea*.

(2) The Registers shew *Phanippus* to have been *Archon* in the third Year of the seventy second *Olympiad*. 'Twas therefore in this third Year that the Battel of *Marathon* was fought, and not in the first, as most learned Men have thought. *Aristides* was *Archon*

the Year following, as he is set down, in the fourth Year of the seventy second *Olympiad*. Nothing can be more certain than this Calculation.

(3) No reasonable Creature can question this Truth. Virtue is more to be revered than Power; since the greatest Power may be very injurious and hurtful, and very often is so. 'Tis no less true that Virtue is more to be esteemed than Immortality, and They that are fondest of Life cannot deny it; since they cannot but know that Immortality may be an eternal Punishment.

venerable and divine: For (1) a *Vacuum* and the Elements partake of Immortality; Earthquakes, Thunder, Whirlwinds, and Inundations possess an almost infinite Power; but as for Justice, (2) nothing participates of That but what is capable of reasoning, and knowing the Divine Essence.

And whereas Men are possess'd with three different Sentiments with respect to the Gods, either of Wonder and Envy, of Fear and Dread, or of Love and Esteem, they seem to admire 'em and think 'em happy by reason of their Freedom from Death and Corruption, to fear 'em on account of their Power and Empire over the World, and to love, honour, and reverence 'em for their Justice: Yet being thus affected towards the Deity in these three different Ways, they count and desire only the two first of those Properties, *viz.* Immortality, (1) of which our Nature is incapable; and Power, the greatest Part of which depends on Fortune; postponing and neglecting Virtue, the only divine Good that is in our own Power. And herein they are greatly mistaken, not considering that Justice makes the Life of such as enjoy Prosperity, Power and Authority, all heavenly and divine, whereas Injustice makes 'em lead the Life of a Beast.

(1) 'Tis ridiculous to call a *Vacuum*. which is nothing, immortal. As to the Elements, *Plutarch* speaks here according to the Opinion of the Philosophers, who believed that all Things wou'd return to their first Principles, and that those first Principles were immutable, and consequently immortal. An Error fully discovered by the true Religion, which teaches us that all Things shall be destroyed.

(2) This is an undoubted Principle; to make a Man just, 'tis necessary that he know God; without that Knowledge there can be no Justice.

(3) *Plutarch* speaks here like a blind Heathen, who is ignorant that we were born for Immortality, that by Sin alone we forfeited it, and that we are again made capable of eternal Life by his Merits, who has blotted out Sin, and conquered Death.

But to return to *Aristides*; the Sirname of *Just* at first procured him Love and Respect, but at last Envy, especially thro' the secret Practices of *Themistocles*, who made it his Business to spread a Report among the People, that *Aristides*, by abolishing all Courts of Judicature, and making Himself sole Arbitrator and Judge in all Disputes, had insensibly erected a Monarchy in his own Person, without any State or Guards. The People, who are naturally insolent, were grown much more so by their late Success; and believing themselves worthy of greater Honours, and resolving that every thing should depend on their Pleasure, were violently bent against every Body of superior Eminence and Reputation: Wherefore being assembled at *Athens* from all the Towns of *Attica*, they banished *Aristides* by the Ostracism; disguising their Envy of his Glory under the specious Name of Hatred to Tyranny: For this Exile was not a Punishment for any Crime or Misdemeanour, but only a kind of honourable Retirement, which they called a *Curb* and *Restraint* to overgrown Pride and Power; but it was in reality a soft and gentle Mitigation of Envy; for by this means, Whoever grew jealous and offended at the growing Greatness of Another, discharged all his Spleen and Malice, not in any thing that was severe and cruel, but only in a ten Years Banishment. 'Tis true, after some mean and villanous Fellows, and last of all, the infamous *Hyperbolus*, had been condemn'd to this honourable Exile, the *Athenians* desisted from any further Use of it. The Cause and Occasion of *Hyperbolus's* Banishment by the Ostracism was This.

Alcibiades and *Nicias*, two Persons of the greatest Power and Authority in the City, had raised a Faction, and declared open War against one another; but finding that the People were about to have

Recourse to the Ostracism, and that it would be undoubtedly carried against One of them, they consulted together, and uniting their Interests contrived to make it fall upon *Hyperbolus*. Whereupon the People, full of Indignation at the Contempt and Dishonour brought upon that kind of Punishment, abolish'd it, and us'd it no more. Therefore to give a general Idea of the Ostracism, This was, in short, the manner of performing it. Every Citizen took a Piece of a broken Pot, or Shell, on which having wrote the Name of the Person he would have banished, he carried it to a certain Part of the Market-Place that was inclosed with wooden Rails. Then the Magistrates began to count the Number of the Shells; for if they were less than six hundred, the Ostracism was void; but if the Number was complete, then they laid every Name apart by it self, and that Person, whose Name was found on the greatest Number of Shells, was declared banished for ten Years, but with Permission to enjoy his Estate.

At the time that *Aristides* was banished, when they were busy inscribing their Names on the Shells, 'tis reported that an ignorant ill-bred Inhabitant of some little Burrough, that could neither write nor read, came to *Aristides*, whom he took for some ordinary Person, and giving him his Shell, desired him to write *Aristides* on it; He, a little surprized at the Adventure asked the Man if *Aristides* had ever disobligh'd him in any respect; to which the Boor reply'd, *Not in the least, neither do I so much as know him, but I am weary and sick with hearing him every where called the Just*. Whereupon *Aristides*, without speaking a Word, very composedly took the Shell, and having written his own Name on it returned it to the Fellow. As he went out of the City to his Banishment, lifting up
his

his Eyes to Heaven, (1) he made a Prayer to the Gods, quite contrary, as may easily be imagined, to That of *Achilles*; for he prayed, *that the Athenians might never see that Day that should force them to remember Aristides.*

Three Years after, when *Xerxes* was hastening by long Marches through *Theffaly* and *Bæotia* to reach the Country of *Attica*, the *Athenians* repeal'd this Law, and made a publick Decree to call home all the Exiles. What induced them to This was their Fear of *Aristides*; for they were apprehensive that He siding with the Enemy might corrupt and bring over many of the Citizens to their Interest; but herein they very much mistook his Character; for before this Decree, he constantly advised and encouraged the *Greeks* to maintain their Liberty; and after it, when *Themistocles* was chosen General of the Army, he joined with him, and assisted him both with his Person and Counsel; thus, out of regard to the publick Good, advancing his greatest Enemy to the highest Pitch of Glory. (2) For when *Eurybiades*

(1) 'Tis certain that *Aristides* did make a Prayer on this Occasion; and because he was a just Man, and full of Affection to his Country, he says, 'tis very probable that he made a Prayer quire contrary to That of *Achilles* in *Homer*, who was a passionate, revengeful, and unjust Man. *Achilles's* Prayer is sufficiently known; he is not content with praying that the *Trojans* might overcome, that so the *Greeks* might be forc'd to implore his Assistance, as may be seen in the First Book of the *Iliad*; but he carries his Rage and Resentment so far as to wish that both *Greeks* and *Trojans* might perish by each other's Hands, that so *Patroclus* and himself only re-

maining might have the Glory of overthrowing the City of *Troy*. *Il.* 16.

(2) *Eurybiades* a *Spartan* was Generalissimo, and Admiral of the whole Fleet. In a Council of War that was held, all the Officers were of Opinion to leave their Post in *Salamis*, to go and fight the Enemy before the *Isthmus*; and their Reason was, that if they should happen to be beaten at *Salamine*, they should be besieged in the Island, and have no Assistance; whereas if That should happen to them before the *Isthmus*, they might retire every one to his own Country. *Themistocles* was of another Opinion, as will be seen hereafter.

The LIFE of

the General had resolved to quit *Salamine*, and the Enemy's Ships sailing by Night, had in a manner surrounded the Islands without any one's knowing that the Army was encompassed, *Aristides* put to Sea by Night, and having passed with great Danger through the Enemy's whole Fleet, came at last to *Themistocles's* Tent, where, having called him out by himself, he spoke to him in these Words: *If we are wise, Themistocles, we shall now for ever lay aside that vain and childish Contention that has hitherto been between us, and begin a more safe and honourable Emulation, by contending which of Us Two shall do most towards the Safety of Greece, You by performing the Part of a wise and great General, and I, by obeying and assisting you with my Person and Advice. (1) I understand that You alone have determined rightly, advising to engage in the Streights without Delay. Your Allies are of a different Opinion, but the Enemies themselves seem to confirm and strengthen Your Advice; for the Sea all round us is covered and shut up by their Fleet, so that They who have opposed coming to an Engagement must be forced to fight, and shew themselves Men of Courage, there being no Room left for Flight.*

To this *Themistocles* reply'd, *I am ashamed, Aristides, at your having got the start of me in this noble*

(1) For *Themistocles* was of Opinion, that they ought to fight the Enemy at *Salamine*; and he represented to *Eurybiades*, that being inferior in the Number, as well as Strength of Ships, they should have the Advantage by fighting in that Streight, which would hinder the Enemy from making use of their whole Force; whereas if they went before the *Isthmus*, besides losing *Salamina*, *Megara*, and *Ægina*, they should fight to a great Disadvantage on the open Sea a-

gainst a superior Fleet; and that all the Troops would desert them, and march back to their own Country, so that they should have no Army left. *Herodotus* writes, that *Themistocles* was not the First that gave this Advice, but one *Mnesiphilus* an *Athenian*. But how often have we known Subaltern Officers ascribe to Themselves the Honour of an Opinion that has proved successful? See *Herodot.* viii. 57, 58. &c.

Emula-

Emulation; I shall use my utmost Endeavours to outdo this Beginning, which is so much to your Honour, and to obscure, if possible, this Glorious Step of yours, by the Lustre of my future Actions. At the same time he acquainted him (1) with the Stratagem he had contrived to ensnare the *Barbarians*, and begg'd him to go and try to persuade *Eurybiades* to venture a Battel, by shewing him the Impossibility of saving themselves without it; for *Aristides* had much the greater Influence over them. Likewise at a Council of War where all the General Officers assisted, when *Cleocrites* the *Corinthian* told *Themistocles*, that *Aristides* did not approve his Advice, since he was there present, and said nothing at all; *Aristides* answered, *You are mistaken, Sir, for had not Themistocles proposed what is most expedient, I should have declared my own Sentiments, and my Silence is not owing to any Favour to his Person, but to my Approbation of his Advice.* This is what happened at that Council.

The same Day *Aristides* perceiving that *Psytalia*, a little Island lying in the Streights over-against *Salamine*, was entirely possessed by the Enemy's Troops, put on board his small Transports Some of the most resolute and best experienced of his Countrymen, and landing with them there, attack'd the Enemy with such Fury, that they were all cut to Pieces, except some of the principal Persons that were made Prisoners. Among These were three Sons of *Sandauc* the King's Sister, whom *Aristides* sent immediately to *Themistocles*; and 'tis said, that at the Command of a certain Oracle, by the Di-

(1) This Stratagem was to give the Enemy a secret Information that the *Greeks* intended to abandon *Salamine*, and that they had nothing more to do than to hinder their Retreat from thence, in order to make their own Market. The Person entrusted to manage and convey this Intelligence was named *Sicinus*. See the Life of *Themistocles*, and *Herodot.* viii. 75.

rection of *Euphrantides* the Diviner, they were Sacrificed to *Bacchus*, surnamed *Omeftes*.

After this successful Beginning, *Aristides* placed Troops all round the Island to guard it, and watch all such as should be thrown upon it either by the Fortune of War, or the Violence of the Sea; that so none of his Friends might perish, or any of his Enemies escape: For the greatest Stress and Fury of the Battel lay thereabouts, as he had foreseen: And therefore a Trophy was erected in that Island.

When the Battel was over, *Themistocles*, in order to discover *Aristides*'s Sentiments, spoke thus; *We have performed a great Exploit, but the chiefest and most important Part is still behind, which is, to take all Asia even in Europe, which is to be done by sailing directly to the Hellespont, and breaking down the Bridge that Xerxes has left there for his Retreat.* But *Aristides* exclaimed loudly against this Project, and desired *Themistocles* to give over all Thoughts of so extravagant an Undertaking, telling him, that he ought rather to find out all proper Means to drive the *Medes* speedily out of *Greece*; for fear lest so powerful an Army finding themselves shut up, and no way left for their Escape, Despair might rouse their Courage, and force them to an obstinate Defence.

Themistocles therefore (1) sent a second time to *Xerxes* by *Anarces* the Eunuch, whom he gave in Charge to acquaint the King privately, that he had used his utmost Endeavours to divert the *Greeks* from their Design of sending to cut down the

(1) For he had sent to him before by *Sicinus*. *Themistocles* was overjoy'd at *Aristides*'s Proposal; because he plainly saw that it put it in his Power, as they say, to kill two Birds with one Stone; in the first place to serve his Country,

by obliging *Xerxes* to make his Retreat; and then to make a Merit of his Advice with the King; for it appears plainly from *Herodotus*'s whole Account, that *Themistocles* had a mind to procure the Favour and Interest of this Prince.

Bridge over the *Hellespont*; and that he had sent this Advice as a Mark of his Affection to his Majesty's Person, and that he might make use of it for his Safety. *Xerxes*, alarm'd at the Danger that seem'd to threaten him, lost no time at all, but sailed immediately back towards the *Hellespont* with his whole Fleet, leaving *Mardonius* behind him with a Land-army composed of three hundred thousand of his best Troops.

This great Number of Forces made the King's Lieutenant-General very dreadful to the Greeks, which was heightened by his Menaces, and the haughty Letters he wrote to them; *You have, said he in one of them, overcome, at Sea, Men unskilled at the Oar, and only accustomed to fight on Land; but the Plains of Thessaly and Boeotia offer us a fair Opportunity to try the Bravery of our Squadrons and Battalions.* But (1) he wrote particular Letters to the *Athenians*, in which he made them Offers from the King, to rebuild their City, to give them large Sums of Money, and to make them Masters of all Greece, upon Condition they would withdraw their Forces, and give their Allies no further Assistance.

(2) The *Lacedemonians* having got secret Intelligence of these Proposals, and fearing they might be

(1) *Herodotus* makes no mention of these Letters, but says, he sent to them *Alexander* King of *Macedon*, the Son of *Amyntas*, and the seventh in a lineal Descent from *Perdiccas*; and he relates the Speech made by him in their publick Assemblies, and the Answer made to it by the *Spartan* Deputies, lib. viii. 140, 141.

(2) According to *Herodotus* they sent these Ambassadors, not upon any Intelligence they had received of these Proposals, but upon the

first News of *Alexander's* leaving the Army under *Mardonius*; for they very much suspected the Occasion of this Journey. Besides, they called to mind the Predictions of certain Oracles which increased their Fears; for they threatened both Them and all the *Dorians* with being driven out of *Peloponnesus* by the *Medes* and *Athenians*. Accordingly these Ambassadors arrived at *Athens* soon after *Alexander*, and were present at the first Audience he had of the People.

accepted,

accepted, sent Ambassadors to *Athens*, (1) to entreat the *Athenians* to send their Wives and Children to *Sparta* for their greater Safety, and to accept from them of what was necessary for the Sustenance and Support of Such as were in Years; for the People, being despoiled both of their City and Country, suffered an extreme Poverty.

When the *Athenians* had heard the Ambassadors, they made them such an Answer, by the Direction of *Aristides*, as can never be sufficiently admired; they said, *They forgave their Enemies, if they thought every thing was to be purchased for Money, because perhaps They knew Nothing of greater Value; but that they were highly offended at the Lacedæmonians, because They had regard only to their present Poverty and Distress, when they thought an Allowance of Bread to their Poor might be a sufficient Motive to induce them to continue firm to their Alliance, and to fight for the Safety of Greece.*

This Answer being approved of and recorded, and all the Ambassadors brought into the Assembly, *Aristides* ordered Those from *Sparta* to acquaint the *Lacedæmonians*, *That all the Gold upon Earth, and all that was contained within the Bowels of it, was not so valuable to the Athenians as the Liberty of Greece; and to Those that came from Mardonius, shewing them the Sun, he ordered that it should be said, That so long as that Luminary continued its Course, so long shall the Athenians wage War against the Persians, to revenge the Plundering and Wasting of their Country, and the Profanation and Burning of their Temples.*

(1) *Herodotus* relates the Discourse these Ambassadors made to the People at their Audience, viii. 142. *Plutarch* has only slightly mentioned the Heads of it. They

did not propose to the *Athenians* to send their Wives and Children to *Sparta*, but only offered to maintain them during the War.

Moreover

Moreover he preferred a Decree, that the Priests should anathematize and excommunicate Whosoever should send any Embassy to the *Medes*, or desert the Alliance of *Greece*.

When *Mardonius* made a second Incurſion into the Country of *Attica*, the *Athenians* retir'd again into the Island of *Salamine*. At that time *Aristides* being ſent Ambaſſador to *Sparta*, complain'd of the Delay and Neglect of the *Lacedæmonians*, reproach'd them with their abandoning *Athens* again to the Spoil of the *Barbarians*, and earneſtly exhorted them to march with all ſpeed to the Relief of that part of *Greece* which was not yet fallen into the Enemy's Hands.

The *Ephori* having heard this Representation, (1) ſeemed very little mov'd at it, but (2) ſpent the whole Day in Feaſting and Meriment, it happening to be the Feſtival of *Hyacinthus*. But at Night they diſpatched five thouſand *Spartans*, each of them taking with him ſeven *Ilotes*, and ſent them away privately, unknown to the *Athenians*.

Some Days after *Aristides* complaining again to the Council, the *Ephori* told him ſmiling, *That he muſt needs either doat or dream; ſince their Army was by that time as far as Oreſtium, on their March againſt the Foreigners; for ſo the Lacedæmonians called the Barbarians.* *Aristides* told them, *it was not then a time to jeſt, and pleaſe themſelves with deceiving their*

(1) They deſerred giving him an Answer 'till the next Day, and then 'till the Day following, and ſo from Day to Day, 'till they had gain'd ten Days; in which time they finiſhed the Wall that guarded the *Iſthmus*, and ſecured them againſt the *Barbarians*.

(2) Among the *Lacedæmonians* the Feaſt of *Hyacinthus* laſted three Days; the Firſt and Laſt were

Days of Sorrow and Mourning for *Hyacinthus's* Death, but the Second was a Day of rejoycing; there were Feaſts, Plays, Shews, and all kind of Diversions: And 'tis very evident that this Paſſage of *Plutarch* is to be underſtood of this Second Day. This Feaſt was celebrated annually in the Month of *Auguſt*, in Honour of *Apollo* and *Hyacinthus*.

Friends

The LIFE of

Friends instead of their Enemies. This is *Idomeneus's* Account of the Matter: But in *Aristides's* Decree, he is not mentioned as an Ambassador, the Ambassadors being *Cimon*, *Xanthippus* and *Myronides*.

Being some time after appointed chief Commander of the *Athenian* Forces, he marched with eight thousand Foot to *Platea*. There *Pausanias*, Generalissimo of all *Greece*, joined with the *Spartans*, and the other *Grecian* Troops arrived daily in good Order. The *Barbarians* Army (1) was encamped along the side of the River *Asopus*, but not entrenched, by reason of the vast extent of Ground they took up; only in the middle of it there was a four-square Wall thrown up, each Side of which was ten Furlongs long, for the Security of their Baggage and other things of value.

In the *Grecian* Army there was a Diviner, (2) whose Name was *Tisamenes*, who had foretold *Pausanias*, and all the *Greeks*, that (3) they should infallibly obtain

(1) To form a just Idea of the Battel of *Platea*, and fully to understand the Historians that relate it, we must have before our Eyes the Situation of both Armies. The *Barbarians* were encamped along the Side of *Asopus*. *Herodotus* says, that *Mardonius* had extended his Camp from *Erythræ* near *Hylia* as far as *Platea*. But this cannot be; for *Hylia* was on this side of the *Asopus*, near Mount *Citheron*, and *Mardonius* was on the other side towards *Thebes*. It ought to be altered, and read *Huria*, which belonged to the *Thebans*, and afterwards to the *Plateans*. In a Word, the *Persians* were encamped on the left Side of the River, and the *Greeks* on the right.

(2) An Oracle had formerly promised this *Tisamenes* five great

Victories. The *Spartans* being informed of This, had a mind to have him for their Diviner, and made him considerable Offers; but he demanded to be made a Citizen of *Sparta*, which they refus'd. Upon the Approach of the *Persians* the *Spartans* offered him what they had refused before; but he insisted on having the same Honour bestowed on his Brother *Hegias*, which was granted. And these are the only two Foreigners that ever were made Citizens of *Sparta*. *Herodot. ix. 32.*

(3) This was the use they made of their Diviners: Whenever the Generals could not manage or lead their Troops according to their Mind, they made the Diviners appoint whatever they pleased, and so Religion procured that Respect

obtain the Victory, provided they forbore to attack the Enemy, and stood only on their own Defence. And *Aristides* having sent to consult the Oracle at *Delphi*, the God answered, *That the Athenians should gain the Victory over their Enemies, provided they made their Supplications to Jupiter, to Juno the Patroness of Mount Citheron, to Pan, and (1) to the Nymphs Sphragitides; and that they sacrificed to the Heroes, Androcrates, Leucon, Pisander, Democrates, Hypsion, Acteon and Poluidus; and that they fought only in their own Country, particularly in the Plain of Ceres Eleufina and Proserpine.*

This Answer of the Oracle very much perplex'd *Aristides*; for the Heroes to whom it commanded to offer Sacrifice were (2) the Ancestors of the *Plataeans*; and the Cave of the Nymphs *Sphragitides* was on one of the highest Summits of Mount *Citheron*, on that Side which in the Summer Season is oppo-

spect and Obedience, which was before deny'd to their Authority. The Diviner promises the *Greeks* Victory, provided they forbore to attack; in order to which they must have pass'd the River, which they could not have done without great Disadvantage. The *Persian* Diviner told the *Persians* the same thing, and for the very same Reason, as we shall see hereafter.

(1) To the Nymphs of Mount *Citheron*, who were nam'd *Sphragitides*, from the Cave call'd *Sphragidion*; and I believe this Name came from the Respect and Silence that was observed in relation to every thing that happened in the Cave, for fear of offending the Nymphs, and incurring their Displeasure. For σφραγίς signifies a Seal, from whence they say σφραγίδα γλώσση ἐπικραδαί, *that ones Mouth is sealed up*, to express that one says nothing at

all. one is silent, *os signatum habere*. The Fear and Superstition of the Ancients with respect to their Gods is sufficiently known.

(2) What occasioned *Aristides's* Perplexity was, that the Prayers and Sacrifices which the Oracle commanded to be offered to the Nymphs of *Citheron* and the *Plataean* Heroes, seemed to intimate that they ought to fight the Enemy in some of those Places that were under their Domination, and on the other hand forbidding them to fight any where but in their own Country was sending them back into *Attica*. This was what he could not reconcile; but the Consequence makes the Whole plain, and shews that the Gods are always in the right; and that 'tis then only Men are deceived, when they will follow no other Light but their Own.

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Being some time after appointed chief Commander of the *Athenian* Forces, he marched with eight thousand Foot to *Platea*. There *Pausanias*, Generalissimo of all *Greece*, joined with the *Spartans*, and the other *Grecian* Troops arrived daily in good Order. The *Barbarians* Army (1) was encamped along the side of the River *Asopus*, but not entrenched, by reason of the vast extent of Ground they took up; only in the middle of it there was a four-square Wall thrown up, each Side of which was ten Furlongs long, for the Security of their Baggage and other things of value.

In the *Grecian* Army there was a Diviner, (2) whose Name was *Tisamenes*, who had foretold *Pausanias*, and all the *Greeks*, that (3) they should infallibly obtain

(1) To form a just Idea of the Battel of *Platea*, and fully to understand the Historians that relate it, we must have before our Eyes the Situation of both Armies. The *Barbarians* were encamped along the Side of *Asopus*. *Herodotus* says, that *Mardonius* had extended his Camp from *Erythræ* near *Hysia* as far as *Platea*. But this cannot be; for *Hysia* was on this side of the *Asopus*, near Mount *Citheron*, and *Mardonius* was on the other side towards *Thebes*. It ought to be altered, and read *Huria*, which belonged to the *Thebans*, and afterwards to the *Plateans*. In a Word, the *Persians* were encamped on the left Side of the River, and the *Greeks* on the right.

(2) An Oracle had formerly promised this *Tisamenes* five great

Victories. The *Spartans* being informed of This, had a mind to have him for their Diviner, and made him considerable Offers; but he demanded to be made a Citizen of *Sparta*, which they refus'd. Upon the Approach of the *Persians* the *Spartans* offered him what they had refused before; but he insisted on having the same Honour bestowed on his Brother *Hegias*, which was granted. And these are the only two Foreigners that ever were made Citizens of *Sparta*. *Herodot.* ix. 32.

(3) This was the use they made of their Diviners: Whenever the Generals could not manage or lead their Troops according to their Mind, they made the Diviners appoint whatever they pleased, and so Religion procured that Respect

obtain the Victory, provided they forbore to attack the Enemy, and stood only on their own Defence. And *Aristides* having sent to consult the Oracle at *Delphi*, the God answered, *That the Athenians should gain the Victory over their Enemies, provided they made their Supplications to Jupiter, to Juno the Patroness of Mount Citheron, to Pan, and (1) to the Nymphs Sphragitides; and that they sacrificed to the Heroes, Androcrates, Leucon, Pisander, Democrates, Hypsion, Acteon and Poluidus; and that they fought only in their own Country, particularly in the Plain of Ceres Eleufina and Proserpine.*

This Answer of the Oracle very much perplex'd *Aristides*; for the Heroes to whom it commanded to offer Sacrifice were (2) the Ancestors of the *Platians*; and the Cave of the Nymphs *Sphragitides* was on one of the highest Summits of Mount *Citheron*, on that Side which in the Summer Season is oppo-

spect and Obedience, which was before deny'd to their Authority. The Diviner promises the *Greeks* Victory, provided they forbore to attack; in order to which they must have pass'd the River, which they could not have done without great Disadvantage. The *Persian* Diviner told the *Persians* the same thing, and for the very same Reason, as we shall see hereafter.

(1) To the Nymphs of Mount *Citheron*, who were nam'd *Sphragitides*, from the Cave call'd *Sphragidion*; and I believe this Name came from the Respect and Silence that was observed in relation to every thing that happened in the Cave, for fear of offending the Nymphs, and incurring their Displeasure. For σφραγίς signifies a Seal, from whence they say σφραγίδα γλώσση ἐτίκεισθαι, that ones Mouth is sealed up, to express that one says nothing at

all. one is silent, *os signatum habere*. The Fear and Superstition of the Ancients with respect to their Gods is sufficiently known.

(2) What occasioned *Aristides's* Perplexity was, that the Prayers and Sacrifices which the Oracle commanded to be offered to the Nymphs of *Citheron* and the *Platian* Heroes, seem'd to intimate that they ought to fight the Enemy in some of those Places that were under their Domination, and on the other hand forbidding them to fight any where but in their own Country was sending them back into *Attica*. This was what he could not reconcile; but the Consequence makes the Whole plain, and shews that the Gods are always in the right; and that 'tis then only Men are deceived, when they will follow no other Light but their Own.

sitate to the Setting Sun; in that Cave, as Fame goeth, there was an Oracle, and Many, who dwelt in those Parts, were inspired by it, and were from thence called *Nympholepti*, that is, *possess'd by the Nymphs*: And on the other Side, to promise Victory to the *Athenians* upon Condition only of fighting in their own Country, was to call back and transfer the whole Stress and Weight of the War into *Attica*.

In the mean time *Arimnestus*, the General of the *Plateans*, dream'd that *Jupiter* the Saviour came to him, and asked him, *What Resolution the Grecians had taken*; to which he answered, *To-morrow, Lord, we shall decamp and remove our Army into the Territories of Eleusis, and there fight the Barbarians, according to the Directions of the Oracle*. To which (1) the God reply'd, *That they were quite mistaken, for the Place mentioned by the Oracle was the Country round Plataea, and that they would find it to be so, upon due Enquiry*.

After so plain a Vision, *Arimnestus*, as soon as he awoke, sent for the most aged and experienced of his Countrymen, and having advised with them, found at last (2) that not far from *Husia*, at the Foot of Mount *Citheron*, there was an old Temple, call'd *The Temple of Eleusinian Ceres and Proserpine*. Overjoyed at this Discovery, he gave *Aristides* an Account of it, and brought him to the Place, which they found very commodious for drawing up an Army of Foot, that had no Cavalry, because the Bottom

(1) This is well indeed, for *Jupiter* himself to explain an Oracle of *Apollo*. 'Tis very probable that this *Arimnestus*, who commanded the *Plateans*, was skilled in Antiquity, and knew there was a Temple of *Eleusinian Ceres* at the Foot of Mount *Citheron*, and therefore to gain the more Credit with the *Greeks*, pretended this Vision.

(2) Thus it ought to be read, *near the City of Husia*, and not, *near the City of Nyfia*. *Herodotus* speaking of that Place, takes particular Notice of this Situation, *διὰ τῆς ὑπερπέρας τῆς Κιθαιρώνος περὶ τοιαύτης, and at the Foot of Mount Citheron near Husia*. *Strabo* very justly distinguishes *Huria*, *Husia*, and *Nysa*, in his ninth Book.

of Mount *Citheron* extending as far as the Temple, rendered it inaccessible to Horse. Besides, in the same Place was the Fane of the Hero *Androcrates*, quite overgrown and covered by the Branches of Trees and Thickets. And that the Oracle might be obeyed in every Particular, to confirm their Hopes of Victory, the *Plateans* upon the Motion of *Arimnestus* made a Decree to alter the Boundaries between their Country and Greece, enlarging the Territories of *Attica*, (1) that so the *Athenians*, according to the Direction of the Oracle, might give the Enemy Battel within their own Dominions. The *Plateans* became so renown'd for this piece of Generosity, that several Years after, when *Alexander* had conquer'd all *Asia*, he caus'd the Walls of *Platea* to be re-built, and Proclamation to be made by an Herald at the *Olympick* Games, *That he did the Plateæans this Favour for their Virtue and Generosity, of which they had given such signal Proofs in the War with the Medes, by making over their Country to the Athenians, for the Safety of Greece.*

When it was propos'd to draw up the whole Army in Order of Battel, and to assign each Body their respective Post, a great Dispute arose between the *Tegeatæ* and the *Athenians*, the *Tegeatæ* pretending, that as the *Lacedæmonians*, in all Battels, commanded the right Wing, so the Honour of commanding the Left was their Due; and to justify this Pretension, alledg'd the memorable Exploits of their Ancestors, and their great Services to the common Cause. As the *Atheni-*

(1) This was helping the Oracle out, and not expounding it; for the Oracle did not call That the *Athenians* Country, which it foresaw wou'd become theirs by Virtue of this Donation, but on Account of this Temple of *Ceres Eleu-*

sina, which shew'd that the Worship of this Goddess came from *Eleusis*; and this Conformity of Worship might be said to make the Country in some measure *Athenian*.

ans were highly enrag'd at This, and ready to mutiny, *Aristides* advancing in the midst of 'em, said, 'Tis not now a Time to contest with the *Tegeatae* those Exploits and Services they so largely amplify. We shall content our selves with telling you, O ye Spartans, and all the rest of the Greeks, that it is not the Post that gives Courage, or takes it away, and that We will perform our Duty in whatever Post You shall assign Us: And by maintaining it, and making it the most honourable, we will endeavour to reflect no Dishonour on our former Achievements. We are come hither, not to contend with our Friends, but to fight with our Enemies; not to boast of our Ancestors, but to imitate 'em, by approving our selves brave and honest Men to all Greece; for this Battel will distinguish the particular Merit of each City, Commander, and private Soldier. The Council of War having heard This, declar'd in Favour of the *Athenians*, and gave them the Command of the left Wing.

While all Greece remain'd in Suspence, waiting the Event of this great Affair, the *Athenians* in particular found themselves in very difficult and dangerous Circumstances; for several of the most noble and wealthy Citizens seeing themselves ruin'd by the War, and that with their Wealth they had lost all their Credit and Authority in the City, and that Others were advanc'd in their Room, and enjoy'd the Honours they had lost, assembled privately in a House at *Platæa*, and conspir'd a Dissolution of the *Athenian* Government; and if they miscarried in their Design, to ruin every thing, and betray all Greece to the *Barbarians*.

This Conspiracy was carried on in the Camp, and great Numbers already corrupted and won over, when *Aristides* came to the Knowledge of it. At first he was very much alarm'd on account of the present Juncture, and unresolv'd what Course to pursue; but at last wisely determin'd neither wholly

wholly to neglect an Affair of that Consequence, nor yet to search too minutely into it: For not knowing how many might be engag'd in it, he judg'd it advisable to sacrifice Justice, in some measure, to the Publick Good, by forbearing to prosecute All that were guilty. Out of all this Number he contented himself with causing Eight only to be apprehended, and of those Eight only Two to be proceeded against, as being most guilty; (*Eschines of Lampra, and Agesias of Acharnes,*) who (1) made their Escape out of the Camp during the Prosecution. As for the rest, he discharg'd 'em; giving 'em thereby an Opportunity to take Heart, and repent, from a Belief that Nothing had been found against 'em; giving 'em at the same time to understand, (2) *That the Battel wou'd be the Tribunal, where they might justify themselves, and make it appear, that they had never pursued any Counsels, but what were just and useful to their Country.*

(3) After This, *Mardonius*, to try the *Grecian* Courage, sent his Cavalry, in which he was strongest, to skirmish with them. The *Greeks* were encamp'd at the Foot of Mount *Citheron*, in strong and stony Places, except the *Megareans*, who, to the number of three thousand, were encamp'd in the Plain, by which means they were the more

(1) 'Tis very likely that *Aristides* favour'd their Escape, that he might not be oblig'd to punish 'em, and so occasion a Commotion.

(2) This is a great and noble Idea, to make a Battel a Tribunal, where Persons accus'd of betraying their Country, might clear and justify themselves, by performing their Duty.

(3) Here *Plutarch* follows Authorities that differ from *Herodotus*; tho' *Herodotus* seems more worthy

of Credit than all the rest, forasmuch as he was cotemporary with *Aristides*; for he was nine or ten Years old when this Battel was fought, and he wrote his Account of it from Persons that were in the Battel. He informs us that This happen'd before the *Greeks* left their Camp at *Erythra*, in order to encamp round *Plataa*, near *Minia*, and before the Contest between the *Tegeata* and the *Athenians*. L. ix. 19, 20, &c.

expos'd to the Enemy's Horse on every Side. After having some time sustain'd the *Barbarians* Attacks, they sent to *Pausanias* for Assistance, being unable any longer to oppose the superior Power of the Enemy.

Pausanias hearing This, and seeing the Camp of the *Megareans* as it were darken'd and cover'd by the great number of the *Barbarians* Darts and Arrows, and that they were forc'd to contract themselves within a narrow Compass, was at a stand what to resolve on; for he saw no way of attacking the Enemy with his Battalion of heavy-arm'd *Spartans*. He endeavour'd therefore to awaken the Emulation of the Officers and Commanders that were about him, and to make it a Point of Honour in Any that wou'd voluntarily undertake the Defence and Succour of the *Megareans*. But *Aristides* perceiving that they All turn'd a deaf Ear to it, made an Offer of his *Athenians*, and at the same time gave his Orders to *Olympiodorus*, the bravest of all his Officers, who had a Body of three hundred Men, and some Archers under his Command. These bold Fellows were ready in a moment, and march'd against the *Barbarians* with the utmost Expedition.

Masistius, General of the *Persian* Horse, a Man distinguish'd and admir'd for his Strength, and graceful Mien, seeing them advance in good Order, turn'd his Horse, and made toward 'em. The *Athenians* receiv'd him with great Firmness and Resolution; whereupon a sharp Contest ensued, both Sides pretending to foretel the Event of the War, from the Success of this Engagement. It was doubtful for a long time, which Side had the Advantage; 'till at last *Masistius's* Horse being wounded with an Arrow, threw his Rider, who cou'd not rise for the Weight of his Armour, nor be easily slain by the *Athenians*, who throng'd about him,

him, and assaulted him on every side, from the Compleatness of it, for he was arm'd from Head to Foot; but the Vizor of his Helmet leaving part of his Face unguarded, a certain *Athenian* ran him into the Eye with his Pike, and slew him; (1) whereupon the *Persians* left his Body, and fled.

The great Advantage gain'd by the *Athenians* did not appear from the Number of the Slain, very few lying dead upon the Field of Battel, but from the Mourning of the *Barbarians*; who express'd such a Grief for the Death of *Masistius*, that they cut off their own Hair, and That of their Horses and Mules, and fill'd all the Camp with their Cries, Groans and Tears, as having lost the next Person in the Army to *Mardonius*, for Courage as well as Command.

(2) After this Engagement against the *Barbarians* Horse, both Armies continued a long time without coming to Action; for the Diviners that inspected the Entrails of the Sacrifices, had equally assur'd the *Greeks* and *Persians* of Victory, if they remain'd only on the Defensive, and threaten'd the Aggressors with a total Defeat.

But at length, *Mardonius* finding that he had only a few Days Provision left, and that the *Grecian* Forces increas'd continually by the daily Arrival of fresh Troops, impatient of a Delay that still turn'd to his Disadvantage, (3) resolv'd to wait

(1) On the contrary *Herodotus* says they rally'd, and charg'd again with great Fury, in order to carry off his Body, and that a sharp Engagement ensued, ἐν τῷ μύχῳ ὅθεν περὶ τῆ νεκρῆ γίνεται. ix. 13.

(2) There is in the Original μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἱππομαχίαν, which ought not to be translated, after the

Engagement between the Horse; for it does not appear that the *Greeks* had any Horse there; they had only Foot that fought on that Occasion. *Plutarch's* Meaning therefore is, after this Engagement against the *Persian* Horse.

(3) Instead of μένειν some read ἀέλλειν to defer it no longer, which comes to the same Sense.

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no longer, but to pass the River *Asopus* next Morning by break of Day, and to fall upon the *Greeks*, unprepar'd, as he hoped, to receive him: And in order to This, he gave his Orders to all the Commanders and Officers, over-night. But about Midnight a Horseman, without the least Noise, arriv'd at the *Grecian* Camp, and calling to the Centinels told 'em, he had something to communicate to *Aristides*, the *Athenian* General, and desir'd they wou'd call him thither; and *Aristides* coming with all Speed, the unknown Person said to him, (1) *I am Alexander King of Macedon, who out of the Friendship I bear you, have expos'd my self to the greatest Dangers in the World, for fear lest the Surprise of a sudden Attack should so far tie up your Hands, as to make you behave with less Bravery and Resolution than usual. For Mardonius is determin'd to give you Battel To-morrow; not that he is led to This by any well-grounded Hopes or Prospekt of Success, but from a Scarcity of Provisions; for the Augurs by their ominous Sacrifices and ill-boding Oracles endeavour to restrain and divert him from this Enterprize, but Necessity forces him either to run the Hazard of a Battel, or by delaying to see his whole Army perish for Want.*

(1) Methinks *Plutarch* ought not to have omitted the Reason of this great Friendship of *Alexander* for the *Greeks*, which is, that he was originally a *Grecian*. *Herodotus* did not forget it, for he puts these Words into his Mouth, αὐτός τε γὰρ Ἕλλην γένος εἰμι τ' ἀρχαῖον, for I am by ancient Extraction a *Greek*. ix. 44. By his Father's Side, indeed, he was descended from *Hercules*; thus the same *Herodotus* writes in his fifth Book. Therefore that the Descendants of

Perdiccas were originally *Grecians*, as is generally allow'd, I know very well, and shall hereafter make appear; and this he proves from what happen'd to this very *Alexander*; for when he offer'd himself as a Combatant at the *Olympick* Games, the *Grecians* refus'd to admit him, alledging that it was an Honour never allow'd to any *Barbarian*, but *Alexander* prov'd himself to be by Descent an *Argian*, and so was admitted.

When

When *Alexander* had said This, he desir'd *Aristides* to keep it as a Secret, to make his Advantage of it, but not to reveal it to any other Person; (1) to which *Aristides* reply'd that it would not be proper to conceal it from *Pausanias*, who was Generalissimo of the Army, but promis'd not to make the least mention of it to any other of the Officers, 'till after the Battel; assuring him at the same time, that if the *Greeks* prov'd victorious, not a Man in the whole Army shou'd remain ignorant of the Danger he had expos'd himself to for their Sakes, and the great Kindness he had express'd to them on this important Occasion.

After This, the King of *Macedon* return'd back to his Camp, and *Aristides* went directly to *Pausanias's* Tent, and told him what he had heard; whereupon all the Officers were sent for, and Orders given to draw up the Army, and prepare for Battel. At the same time, as *Herodotus* writes, *Pausanias* acquainted *Aristides* with his Design of altering the Form of the Army, by removing the *Athenians* from the left Wing to the right, that so they might be opposite to the *Persians*, against whom they wou'd fight with the more Bravery, and greater Assurance of Victory, as having already made Proof of their manner of Combat, and being likewise animated by their former Success; and to command the Left Himself, where he shou'd be oblig'd to fight against those *Greeks* who had embrac'd the *Median* Interest.

(1) According to *Herodotus*, *Alexander* had excepted *Pausanias* out of his Charge of Secrecy, ἀπόρρητα ποιεῦμεν ὁ πρὸς μὴ δένα λέγειν ὑμέας ἄλλον ἢ Πausανίην. I entrust this Secret with you, which you shall reveal to no

Man living but *Pausanias*: and this is much more probable; for what Likelihood is there, that *Alexander* should pretend to oblige *Aristides* to conceal from his General an Affair of such Importance?

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(1) All the other *Athenian* Officers look'd up-
on this Behaviour of *Pausanias* as too haughty and
insolent, to permit all the other *Greeks* to remain
in their respective Posts, and to take upon him to
remove Them, like so many worthless Slaves, from
Place to Place, at his Pleasure, placing them against
the most valiant of the Enemy's Troops. But
Aristides shew'd 'em, that they were very shame-
fully mistaken. 'Tis but a few Days, said he, since
you had a Dispute with the *Tegeatæ* for the Com-
mand of the left Wing, and having gain'd that Point,
you look'd upon it as a great Honour; and now when
the Spartans are willing to give you the Command
of the right Wing, which is in a manner the Com-
mand of the whole Army, you are displeas'd at this
further Honour, and insensible of the Advantage of
not being oblig'd to fight against your own Country-
men, your Relations, and even your own Blood, but
only against Barbarians, and such as are by Na-
ture your Enemies.

These Words had such an Effect, that the *A-
thenians* immediately agreed with Pleasure, to
change Posts with the *Spartans*, and nothing was
heard among 'em but Exhortations to one ano-
ther, to behave like brave and gallant Men; that
the Enemy they were about to engage brought with
them no better Arms nor braver Hearts than They
whom they had conquer'd at Marathon; that they saw
the same Bows, the same whimsical Habits, the same
Ornaments of Gold, and the same soft and effeminate
Bodies, as well as the same weak and cowardly Souls.
As for Us, continued they, we have still the same
Weapons and the same Bodies, but we have likewise
a Boldness and Assurance heighten'd by our Victories;

(1) *Herodotus* saith the quite contrary; for all the *Athenian* Of-
ficers were so far from taking it
amiss, that they said, they had had

the same Thought themselves, but
did not think it proper to propose
it, for fear of disobliging the *Spar-
tans*. ix. 45.

nor do we, like them, fight only for a Tract of Land, or a single City, but (1) for the Trophies of Salamine, and Marathon, that they may not appear to have been the Work of Miltiades or Fortune, but of the People of Athens.

Having spoken thus, they march'd chearfully to change Posts with the Spartans. But the Thebans being advertis'd of it by Deserters, sent forth with to acquaint Mardonius, who without Delay, either for fear of the Athenians, or out of a desire to engage the Spartans, chang'd the Order of his Battel, placing the Persians in his right Wing, and the Greeks that were of his Party, in the Left, opposite to the Athenians.

When this Change was made known to Pausanias, He likewise chang'd again, replacing every Thing in its first Order, he Himself returning to the right Wing, and Mardonius did the same, posting himself in his Left, that he might be over-against the Spartans; and so this Day pass'd without any Action at all. In the Evening it was resolv'd in a Council of War to decamp, and take Possession of some Place that was more commodious for Water, (2) because the Springs near their present Camp were disturb'd and spoilt by the Enemy's Horse.

When the Night was come, and the Officers began to march at the Head of their Troops to-

(1) This Idea is great and noble. The Athenians not only fought for their City and Country, but likewise for the Glory of the Victories they had won at Salamine, and Marathon; for shou'd they lose this Battel through their Want of Courage, 'twou'd be believ'd, that those Trophies were the Work of Miltiades, and not of the People of Athens.

(2) They had only the Fountain of Gargaphia to serve the whole Army; for they durst not go to the River Asopus, which was hard by, for fear of the Enemy's Horse. This Fountain having been spoilt and choakt up by the Barbarians, they were obliged to remove their Camp. Herodot. ix. 48.

wards (1) the Place that had been mark'd out for a new Camp, the Soldiers seem'd to follow unwillingly, and cou'd not, without great Difficulty, be kept together in a Body; for as soon as they were got out of their first Entrenchments, and at Liberty, the greatest part made towards the City of *Platea*, and Some ran one way, and Some another, pitching their Tents wherever they pleased themselves, without any Order or Discipline, which occasioned a very great Confusion. During this general Disorder and Disobedience, it happened that (2) the *Lacedamonians* were left alone behind, tho' against their Wills; for *Amompharetus*, who commanded them, a daring intrepid Man, that for a long time had been very desirous of coming to a Battel, and very ill bore their tedious Lingrings and Delays, and who openly called this Decampment a Running away and Flight, protested, *he would not desert his Post, but remain there with his Company, to receive and sustain the whole Charge of the Enemy.* And when *Pausanias* came and represented to him, that he ought to submit to what had been resolved on by the *Greeks* in Council, he took up a large Stone with both his Hands, and throwing it at *Pausanias's* Feet, said, *There is my Balot for a Battel; and I despise all the other mean and cowardly Resolutions of this fine Council.*

Pausanias, confounded, and at a Loss what to do, resolved at last to send to the *Athenians* that were before, to halt a little, that they might all proceed in a Body; and at the same time continued his

(1) They had a mind to remove into a little Island, which was ten *Stadia*, or twelve hundred and fifty Paces, from *Asopus*, and the Fountain of *Gargaphia*. ix. 50.

(2) They were not all the *Lacedamonians*, but only a Part of 'em that were commanded by *Amompharetus*, all the rest having marched. *Herod.* ix. 54, 55.

March with the rest of the Army towards *Platea*, hoping (1) that *Amompharetus* might by that means be induced to quit his Post, and join him.

By this time the Day began to appear, and *Mardonius*, who was advertised of the *Grecians* Decampment, having formed his Army, marched against the *Lacedæmonians*, with mighty Shouts and a horrible barbarous Noise, not as tho' they were going to join Battel with the *Greeks*, but to spoil them in their Flight; which almost happened, as they had imagined. *Pausanias* indeed perceiving this Motion of *Mardonius's*, stopp'd, and ordered every one to his Post; but whether out of Resentment against *Amompharetus*, or Surprize at the sudden Attack of the *Persians*, he forgot to give his Troops the Word; whence it came to pass that they did not all engage readily, nor at the same Time in a Body, but here and there in small Parties, without any Order, even after the Fight was begun.

Pausanias in the mean time offering Sacrifice, but receiving no propitious Omens, commanded the *Lacedæmonians* to lay their Shields at their Feet, and to abide quietly, and attend his Orders. After This, he offered another Sacrifice, the Enemies Horse still advancing. They were now come within Reach, and several of the *Spartans* were wounded, among whom was *Callicrates*, a Man the best made and the most comely Person in all the Army; this brave Officer being wounded, and ready to expire, said, *That he did not lament his Death, because he came from home with a Design to sacrifice his Life for the Safety of Greece; but that he was sorry to die without having once drawn his Sword, and given Proof of his Courage and Affection for his Country.*

(1) And this happened as he | stance of ten *Stadia*, in a Place
thought. *Amompharetus* left his | called *Argiopius*, where stood the
Post at last, and join'd the rest of | Temple of *Ceres Eleusina*. *Herod.*
the Army when it was at the Di- | ix. 55.

(1) If this Situation of the *Spartan* Army was dreadful, the Steadiness and Bravery of the Men was still more to be admired; for they made no Defence against the Enemy that charged them, but expecting the gracious Signal from the Gods or their General, patiently suffered themselves to be wounded and slain in their Ranks.

Some Authors write, that as *Pausanias* was at Prayers, and sacrificing at a little distance from the Battel, some *Lydians* came upon him by Surprise, and either carried off, or threw down the Sacrifice from the Altar; and that *Pausanias*, and Those that were with him, having no Weapons, drove them away with Staves and Whips: And that to perpetuate the Memory of this Action, they celebrate to this Day a Feast at *Sparta*, (2) where they whip Children round an Altar, and conclude with a March called the *Lydian March*, in Imitation of this Incurfion and Flight of the *Lydians*.

Pausanias, exceedingly troubled at what pass'd, and seeing the Priest offer one Sacrifice after Another, without obtaining any favourable Omen, turned on a sudden, with his Eyes full of Tears, towards *Juno's* Temple, and lifting up his Hands to Heaven, address'd himself to that Goddess, the Patroness of *Citheron*, and to the other tutelar Deities of the

(1) The Word *πρόδοξ* has been thought by Expositors, to relate to *Callicrates's* Death, but I take it to be a Mistake. *Plutarch* stays no longer upon his Death, but proceeds to the Action by which it was occasioned, which very well deserved his Reflections; for nothing can be more terrible than the Condition of the *Spartan* Troops at that Time, who stood exposed to the Enemy's Horse, without being allow'd to make the least Defence, or so much as to

flir; and This in Obedience to their General's Orders.

(2) This is a very remarkable Passage, and I have translated it literally, to preserve one Particular, which is related by no Body but *Plutarch*, which is, that this Whipping Feast, *διαμασινώσεως*, for so it was called, concluded with a March, called, *The March or Procession of the Lydians*. I have not any where else been able to find the least Footsteps of this March.

Plateans,

ARISTIDES.

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Plateans, beseeching 'em, That if the Fates had not decreed that the Grecians should prove victorious, they might at least be permitted to sell their Lives dearly, and not perish without first shewing their Enemies by their Actions, that they had to do with Men of Experience and Bravery.

As soon as *Pausanias* had finished this Prayer, (1) the Sacrifices appeared propitious, and the Diviners promised him the Victory. Orders were immediately given to all the Commanders to march against the Enemy, and at the same time the *Spartan* Battalion seemed like the single Body of some fierce Animal, erecting his Bristles, and preparing for Combat. The *Barbarians* plainly saw they were to encounter with Men, resolved to fight to the last Drop of Blood, wherefore covering themselves with their Targets, they shot their Arrows amongst the *Lacedæmonians*, who moving close in a Body joined together, fell on 'em and forced their Targets out of their Hands, at the same time they directed their Blows at the Breasts and Faces of the *Persians*, and overthrew them; who, however, when they were down, continued to give Proofs of their great Strength and Courage; for (2) taking hold

(1) I take the Text of *Plutarch* to be defective in this Place; for what Meaning has ἐσθλὴν τὰ ἱερά, the Sacrifices appeared? 'Tis plain there is a Word wanting, and that it ought to be read ἐσθλὴν τὰ ἱερά χεῖρας αὐτῶν, the Sacrifices appear'd propitious. And 'tis *Herodotus* himself that furnishes us with this supplemental Word, ix. 61. καὶ τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι αὐτίκα μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν τῷ Περσέει, ἐγένετο δυσμενέσσι τὰ σφάγια χεῖρας αὐτῶν. And soon after *Pausanias's* Prayer, the Entrails of the Sacrifices became favourable to the

Lacedæmonians that offered them.

(2) Had *Plutarch* said, they took hold on the *Lacedæmonians* Swords, he had been in the right, because to take hold of Swords with naked Hands, exposes 'em very much; but it is not so with Spears, which may be laid hold on by the Wood, without any Danger at all, even with the bare Hauds. I believe there is some Fault in the Original, and that *Plutarch*, who was a Person of fine Sense, wrote, ταῖς χερσὶ γυμνοῖς, and not ταῖς χερσὶ γυμναῖς, and being quite naked, took hold with their Hands; for

of the *Lacedæmonians* Spears with their naked Hands, they brake many of 'em; and then rising, and be- taking themselves to their Swords and Battel-Axes, pressing them close, wrestling away their Shields, and grappling with them, they made a long, bloody, and obstinate Resistance.

The *Athenians* all this while stood still in Expectation of the *Lacedæmonians*; but hearing a Noise as it were of People fighting, and an Officer, dispatch'd to 'em by *Pausanias*, having acquainted them that the Battel was actually begun, they marched without Delay to their Assistance; and as they cross'd the Plain towards the Place where the Noise was heard, the *Greeks*, who had sided with the Enemy, met 'em. As soon as *Aristides* saw them, he advanced a considerable Space before the Army, and calling out to them, conjured 'em by all the Gods of Greece, to give over this impious War, and not oppose the *Athenians*, who were going to the Assistance of Those that readily exposed their Lives for the Safety of Greece; but perceiving that they paid no Regard to what he said, but came on to engage him, he quitted his Design of going to assist the *Lacedæmonians*, and with what Troops he had fell upon these *Greeks*, who were about five thousand in Number. But the greatest Part of 'em got off and made a swift Retreat, especially when they heard that the *Barbarians* were defeated and put to Flight. The sharpest Part of this Engagement was against the *Thebans*. The chiefest and most powerful Persons

for the *Persians* were naked, that is to say, without Armour, as may be seen in *Herodotus*, ix. 61. This Historian says plainly, τὰ γὰρ δόξατα ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι κατέκλων οἱ ἑσπερακοί, The *Barbarians* took hold off the *Spartans* Spears and broke 'em. He does not add bare Hands, but a little lower, says,

ἀνοπλοὶ δὲ ἔόντες; for being without Armour; and afterwards, πλεῖστον γὰρ σφέας ἐδέλεστο ἐθὺς ἐρῆμος ἔσσα ὄπλων. For they were chiefly embarrassed by their Habits, without Armour. So that, without Doubt, 'twas for this Reason *Plutarch* called them γυμνοί, naked.

among

among them at that time siding with the *Medes*, had, by vertue of their Authority, brought out their Troops against their Inclinations.

The Battel being thus divided into two Parts, the *Lacedæmonians* first broke and routed the *Persians*, *Mardonius* himself being slain by one *Arimnestus* a *Spartan*; by a Blow on his Head with a Stone, as the Oracle of *Amphiarans* had foretold: for *Mardonius* had sent a *Lydian* to consult this Oracle; and at the same time he likewise sent a *Carian* to (1) the Cave of *Trophonius*. The Priest of this last answered the *Carian* in his own Language. As for the *Lydian*, (2) he lay all Night in the Temple of *Amphiarans*, as was customary, and dreamt that one of the Priests belonging to the God came to him, and commanded him to go out of the Temple, and upon his Refusal, threw a great Stone at his Head, that he thought himself killed with the Blow. This is the Account given of that Transaction. The *Barbarians* being put to Flight, were pursued by the *Lacedæmonians* into the midst of their former Camp, which they had encompassed and fortified with Wood: And in a little time after, the *Athenians* routed and put the *Thebans* to Flight, killing three hundred of the most confide-

(1) This Cave of *Trophonius* was near the City of *Lebadia* in *Bæotia*, above *Delphi*. *Pausanias*, who consulted this Oracle, and went Himself into the Cave, largely describes the Ceremony and Manner of this Consultation, which is very curious, and may be seen in his *Bæoticks*. The Person that *Mardonius* sent thither, did not only consult this Oracle, but almost all the other Oracles in the Country; he address'd himself to That of *Abes*, That of *Apollo Ismenius* at *Thebes*, and to That of *Apollo* in the City of *Prous*; so restless and

uneasy was *Mardonius* about the present State of his Affairs, and desirous of knowing the future Event of Things. This happened before he sent *Alexander* to *Athens*. See *Herod. viii. 134, 135*.

(2) As *Amphiarans* had in his Life-time been a great Expounder of Dreams, so after his Death he gave his Oracles only by Dreams, which he sent to Those that consulted him, and who, in order to it, were obliged to lie all Night in his Temple, upon the Skin of a Ram, which they had before sacrificed to him.

nable Persons among them, upon the Spot. Just as they began to give Way, News was brought that the *Barbarians* were shut up and besieged in their wooden Fortification by the *Lacedæmonians*; whereupon the *Athenians* giving the *Greeks* an Opportunity to escape, marched to re-inforce the *Lacedæmonians*, who made but a slow Progress in their Attack, being very little skill'd or experienced in Storms and Sieges. But when They arrived, they attacked the Fort with such Vigour and Obstinacy, that after several Assaults, (1) they at last took it by Storm, making a prodigious Slaughter of the Enemy; for of three hundred thousand Men, only (2) forty thousand escaped with *Artabafus*; and on the *Grecian* Side no more were slain than one thousand three hundred and sixty. The *Athenians* lost only fifty two Men, all of the Tribe of *Aiantis*, which, as *Clidemus* the Historian informs us, distinguished itself particularly on that Occasion; for which reason that Tribe offered a yearly Sacrifice for this Victory, to the Nymphs *Sphragitides*, at the publick Charge, as the Oracle of *Apollo* had commanded. The *Lacedæmonians* had ninety one, and the *Tegeate* only sixteen slain in this Battel: And therefore (3) I am very much surprized that *Herodotus* should

(1) The *Tegeate* were the first that entered, where, among many Things of great Value, they took *Mardonius's* Tent, and the Manger in which his Horses were fed, which was made of Brass, and the Workmanship exceeding curious.

(2) *Herodotus* says, that besides the forty thousand that were already fled with *Artabafus*, of the whole three hundred thousand Men, that composed the *Persian* Army, not three thousand more escaped.

(3) And I am surpriz'd, that

Plutarch should charge *Herodotus* with saying This; for, in my Opinion, he says no such thing: He only says, That among those *Greeks* who fully performed their Duty, the *Tegeate*, the *Athenians*, and the *Lacedæmonians* distinguished themselves particularly; of which, adds he, I cannot give a better Proof, than by saying that their Forces conquered all Opposition, and were every where victorious; and that the *Lacedæmonians* were engaged with the bravest and best-experienced Troops in the Enemy's Army.

should write, that They only, and none other, engaged the *Barbarians*; since the Numbers of the Slain, and of their Monuments, plainly shew that this Victory was obtained by the united Power of all *Greece*. Besides, had those three People only fought the Enemy, and all the rest stood neuter, they wou'd never have engraved on an Altar erected in Memory of this Battel, an Inscription, that gives all the People of *Greece* a joint Title to this Honour: *The Grecians having obtained a signal Victory over the Persians by their Valour, and expelled 'em out of their Country, erected this Altar, sacred to Jupiter the Deliverer, in Memory of their common Deliverance.*

This Battel was fought on the fourth of *October*, according (1) to the *Athenian* way of reckoning; but according to the *Boeotian* Computation, on the twenty-fourth of the Month called *Panemus*; on which Day there is still held a general Assembly of the *Greeks* in the City of *Platea*, whose Inhabitants

my. Those Words of *Herodotus*, ἀλλ' ὃ μὲν ἐδ' ἐνὶ ἔχῳ ἀποσπινύραδ', which I translate, of which I cannot give a better Proof. might perhaps be understood by *Plutarch* in another Sense; he thought this Historian meant, I cannot bear Witness for any other of the *Greeks*. A *Grecian*; as *Plutarch* was, speaking of another *Grecian*, in any Thing relating to their own Language, ought more to be believed than a Modern. However, I dare affirm that *Herodotus's* Words signify what I have said; and desire the Reader to consult the Passage, lib. ix. 70. for there is no other Passage in all *Herodotus*, to which this Saying of *Plutarch* can be applied.

(1) The *Greek* calls it the Month *Boedromion*, which answers to our

October; but as the *Athenian* Months don't exactly agree with Ours, but comprehend Part of One Month, and Part of Another; for Example, the Month *Boedromion*, began about the Fourth of *September*, and ended the Fourth of *October*, from whence it follows that the Battel of *Platea* was fought on the Fourth of *October* according to the *Athenian* Computation, but according to Ours, on the Eighth of *September*. This Remark concerning This Month may serve for all the rest. But further, *Plutarch* says here, that this Battel was fought on the Fourth Day of the Month *Boedromion*, and in the Life of *Camillus* he says it was fought on the Third, One of which Places ought to be corrected.

then

then offer Sacrifice and Thanks to *Jupiter the Deliverer*, for this Victory. As to the Irregularity and Difference of Days in the *Grecian Months*, That is not to be wondered at; since even now, notwithstanding the Science of Astronomy has been so much cultivated and improved, Some begin their Months at the same time that Others end them.

This Victory had like to have prov'd fatal to *Greece*; for the *Athenians* refusing to yield the Honour of the Day to the *Spartans*, or to allow them to erect a Trophy, they were upon the point of deciding the Difference by Arms, and would have proceeded to Extremities, had not *Aristides* interposed, and by his Reasons and Entreaties softened and appeased the other Commanders, and particularly *Leocrates* and *Myronides*, persuading them to refer the Decision of the Matter to the *Grecians*, when they should meet to determine this Affair. In that Assembly, *Theogiton* the *Megarean* gave his Opinion, That the Honour contended for, was not to be adjudged either to Athens, or Sparta, unless they had a Mind to kindle the Flames of a Civil War. After him, *Cleocritus*, the *Corinthian*, rising to speak, every Body concluded He wou'd demand this Honour for his own Country; for, next to Athens and Sparta, Corinth was the most powerful as well as most honourable City of Greece; but they were agreeably deceiv'd, when they found that his Discourse turned wholly in Commendation of the *Platæans*, concluding, That to extinguish this dangerous Contention, they ought to give the Reward and Glory of the Victory to Them only, at which neither of the contending Parties would be jealous or displeased. This Discourse was greatly admired and applauded; whereupon *Aristides* first agreed to the Proposal, in the Name of the *Athenians*, and afterwards *Pausanias* on the Part of the *Lacedæmonians*.

Being

Being All thus reconcil'd, before they divided the Spoil, they set apart eighty Talents for the *Plateans*, with which they built a Temple, and erected a Statue to *Minerva*, adorning the Temple with curious Pictures, which retain their original Beauty and Lustre to this very Day. But both the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* erected Trophies, each apart by themselves; and sending together to consult the Oracle at *Delphi*, about offering a Sacrifice, the God answer'd, *That they shou'd erect an Altar to Jupiter the Deliverer, but forbear to offer any Sacrifice on it, 'till they had extinguish'd all the Fire in the Country, because it had been polluted and profan'd by the Barbarians; and that they shou'd afterwards fetch pure Fire from the common Altar at Delphi.*

As soon as the Greeks were inform'd of this Oracle, the Generals went all over the Country, (1) and caus'd the Fires to be put out; and *Euchidas* a *Platean* undertaking to fetch Fire from the Altar of *Apollo* with all speed, went to *Delphi*, where having sprinkled and purified himself with Water, putting a Crown of Laurel on his Head, he approach'd the sacred Altar with all due Reverence, and taking Fire from thence hasten'd back to *Platea*, where he arriv'd before Sun-set, performing that Day (2) a Journey of a thousand

(1) This is a very extraordinary Piece of Superstition, the like Instance to which, is, I believe, nowhere else to be found; all the Fire in a whole Country extinguish'd purely out of a Religious Scruple, because it had been defil'd by the *Barbarians*; which shew'd the invincible Aversion the *Greeks* had to Foreigners.

(2) According to our Maps 'tis but four hundred *Stadia*, or fifty

thousand Paces, from *Platea* to *Delphi*. But more Credit is to be given to *Plutarch* than to our Geographers, because he had often travell'd that Road himself; and he makes it five hundred *Stadia*; so that *Euchidas* went that Day a thousand *Stadia*, or an hundred and twenty five thousand Paces, that is to say, forty Leagues, allowing twenty five *Stadia*, to each League.

The LIFE of

Furlongs: but having saluted his Fellow-Citizens, and deliver'd the Fire to them, he immediately fell down, and in a Moment's time expir'd. The *Plateans* carried him away and buried him in the Temple of *Diana*, firnam'd *Eucleia*, and put this Inscription, in one Verse, on his Tomb,

*Here lies Euehidas, who went to Delphi, and
return'd in the same Day.*

Most are of Opinion, that *Eucleia* is *Diana*, and call her by that Name; but Others maintain that she was the Daughter of *Hercules* and *Myrto* the Daughter of *Monæti*, and Sister of *Patroclus*, who dying a Virgin was highly honour'd by the *Bæotians* and *Locrians*. For in all the publick Places of their Cities, she has Altars erected, where (1) Persons of both Sexes that are betroth'd offer Sacrifice before their Marriage.

At the first general Assembly of the *Greeks*, after this Victory, *Aristides* propos'd it might be decreed, That a Council consisting of Deputies from all the Cities of Greece, shou'd be held annually at *Platæa*, and (2) that every fifth Year they should celebrate Games of Liberty: That a general Levy might be made over all Greece for the War against the Barbarians, of ten thousand Foot, a thousand Horse, and an hundred Sail of Ships: That the *Platæans* shou'd be look'd upon as exempt, and sacred to the Service of the Gods, and be only employ'd in offering Prayers and Sacrifices for the Safety and Welfare of Greece.

(1) This was well contriv'd, to oblige Persons that were betroth'd to offer a Sacrifice on the Altar of *Diana* of good Report, for That is imply'd by the Word *Eucleia*; thereby to signify to 'em that the whole Happiness of a married State depends on a good Reputation, which is the Effect of a prudent Conduct.

(2) There was a general Assembly of all Greece at *Platæa* yearly, where they sacrific'd to *Jupiter* the Deliverer, in Acknowledgment of this Victory, and every fifth Year the Games of Liberty were celebrated; when they ran, arm'd, round the Altar of *Jupiter*, and great Prizes were given at this Race.

All

All these Particulars being approv'd of and ratified, the *Plataeans* undertook to keep a solemn Anniversary in Honour of Those that were slain in that Place; which they still continue to perform after this manner. On the sixteenth Day of *Maimacterion*, which with the *Bæotians* is the Month *Alalcomenus*, they have a Procession which they begin by Break of Day, it being open'd by a Trumpet sounding a Point of War; then follow several Chariots full of Garlands and Branches of Myrtle, and next to the Chariots a black Bull; then come the young Men that are free-born, carrying the usual Libations, Vessels full of Wine and Milk, and Cruets of Oyl and Ointments; for no Slave is allowed to be present at a Solemnity which is perform'd in Honour of Such as died in the Cause of Liberty. And last of all, to shut up the Ceremony, comes the *Archon*, or chief Magistrate of *Plataea*, who at all other Times is obliged not so much as to touch Iron, or wear any Garment but white; but, that Day, cloath'd in a purple Robe girt with a Sword, and carrying in his Hands a Water-pot taken out of the City-Hall, walks through the midst of the City to the Burying-place. Then taking Water in his Pot out of a Fountain, he Himself washes (1) the little Pillars of the Monuments, and rubs them with sweet Ointments, after which he kills the Bull, and lays him on a Funeral Pile. And lastly having made his Supplication (2) to the terrestrial *Jupiter* and *Mercury*, he invites those gallant Men to this Funeral Banquet and Oblation, when filling a Bowl with Wine, and pouring it out, he says, *I present this Bowl to those brave Men who dy'd for the Liberty of*

(1) For it was customary to place the Monuments upon little Pillars. *Pluto*; and *Mercury* was so call'd from his Employment to conduct the Shades into the lower Regions.

(2) The terrestrial *Jupiter* is

Greece. This is the Manner of that Funeral Solemnity, which the *Plateans* observe to this Day.

When the *Athenians* were return'd Home, *Aristides* perceiving that they endeavour'd every way to get the Government into their Hands, and to establish a Democracy; and considering, on one hand, that they deserv'd a more than ordinary Regard on account of their late gallant Behaviour, and on the other, that it was a difficult Task to curb and restrain Those who had their Weapons still in their Hands, and were much conceited for their Victories, he propos'd this Expedient, (1) That every Citizen shou'd have an equal Right to the Government, and that the *Archon*, or chief Magistrate, shou'd be chosen out of the whole Body of the People, without any Preference or Distinction.

Themistocles declaring one Day, at a publick Assembly of the People, that he had form'd a Design that wou'd be of great Advantage to the State, but that it was of such Importance that it ought to be kept secret, he was order'd to communicate it to *Aristides*, to whose sole Judgment it was referred. And when *Themistocles* had inform'd him that his Project was to burn the whole *Grecian* Navy, by which means the *Athenians* would become so powerful, as to be Lords of all Greece, *Aristides* returning to the Assembly, told the *Athenians*, That the Design *Themistocles* had communicated to him was the most advantageous to Athens that cou'd possibly be thought on, but at the same time was highly unjust. Upon which Report the *Athenians* order'd *Themistocles* to desist; such Lovers of Justice were the People, and so high an Esteem

(1) This was a very prudent Expedient, for by this means the People were satisfied, hoping that the *Archons* wou'd be elected out

of their Body, and consequently that they Themselves might arrive at that Honour and Authority.

and Confidence had this great Man gain'd with them, by his Wisdom and Regard to Probity and Truth.

Some time after This, being join'd in Commis-
sion with *Cimon*, he was sent against the *Barba-
rians*; where observing that *Pausanias* and the o-
ther *Spartan* Commanders behav'd themselves with
too much Haughtiness and State towards all the
Allies, he chose a quite different Manner, conver-
sing freely with 'em, and treating 'em with all
kind of Courtesy and Condescension; and *Cimon*,
in Imitation of his Example, became so affable and
agreeable to every Body, that he gave entire Sa-
tisfaction. By this means he insensibly stole away
the sovereign Command from the *Lacedæmonians*,
not by Force of Arms, Horses or Ships, but by his
sweet and obliging Behaviour. *Aristides's* Justice,
and *Cimon's* Candour had already very much en-
dear'd the *Athenians* to all the Confederates, but
the Avarice and Cruelty of *Pausanias* render'd 'em
still more desirable. For He always spoke to the
Officers roughly and hastily, and as for the com-
mon Soldiers, They were either whipt, or oblig'd
to stand a whole Day with an Iron Anchor on
their Shoulders, for the least Offences. Neither
durst they provide Forrage for their Horses, Straw
for Themselves to lie on, or so much as touch a
Spring of Water 'till the *Spartans* were all serv'd,
his Servants being constantly posted there to drive
away such as offer'd to approach. And when *Ari-
stides* had a mind one Day to expostulate with him
on this Head, and shew him the Unreasonableness
of such a Procedure, he told him with a fierce
and angry Look, *that he had not Leisure to listen to
him*, and so refus'd to hear him.

From that Time the Sea-Captains and Land-
Officers, and particularly Those of *Chios*, *Samos* and
Lesbos, press'd *Aristides* to accept of the General

Command of all the Confederate Forces, and receive 'em into his Protection; for that they had a long time desir'd to be deliver'd from the *Spartan Yoke*, and to submit only to the *Athenians*. *Aristides* having heard them, answer'd, *That he saw a great deal of Truth, and even Necessity in what they said, but that it was necessary to perform some Action, that might manifest the Truth and Sincerity of their Intentions, and at the same time fix the Troops beyond a Possibility of changing.*

Upon this Answer, *Uliades* the *Samian* and *Antagoras* of *Chios* conspiring together, and solemnly engaging themselves to one another, went boldly and attack'd *Pausanias's* Galley at the Head of the whole Fleet near *Byzantium*. When *Pausanias* perceiv'd their Insolence, he rose up in a Rage, and threaten'd to make 'em soon know that it was not his Galley, but their own Country they had thus insulted. But they only laugh'd at his Threatnings, telling him, *that the best thing he cou'd do was to retire, and thank Fortune for her Favours at Platæa; for that nothing but the Regard they had for that great Action restrain'd the Greeks from resenting and revenging the ill Treatment they had receiv'd at his Hands.* In Conclusion, they renounc'd all manner of Submission to the *Spartans*, and rang'd themselves under the *Athenian Banners*.

The wonderful Magnanimity of the *Spartan* People appear'd very fully on this Occasion; for finding that their Generals were grown corrupt through the Greatness of their Power and Authority, they immediately recall'd 'em, and voluntarily laid down the chief Command of the Confederate Forces, chusing rather that their Citizens shou'd be prudent, modest, and strictly observant of their Laws and Customs, than to possess the sovereign Command of all *Greece*.

All the Time the *Lacedemonians* had the Command, the *Grecians* paid a certain Tax towards carrying on the War; but being now desirous that every City shou'd be justly and equally rated, they begg'd *Aristides* of the *Athenians*, and entrusted him with the Care of examining all the Lands and Revenues, that so each particular Person might pay according to his real Worth and Ability.

Aristides being invested with this great Authority, by which he became in a manner Master of all Greece, was far from abusing the 'Trust reposed in him; and if he enter'd upon it poor, he went out of it poorer; for he levied this Tax, not only justly and equally without any Regard to his own Interest, but likewise with the greatest Tenderness and Humanity, and without the least Oppression. Infomuch, that as the Ancients were wont to celebrate the Reign of *Saturn*, on account of the Justice and Equity that then prevail'd in the World, (1) so the Confederate *Greeks* did by this Taxation of *Aristides*, calling it *The happy Chance of Greece*; and this Applause was very much heighten'd soon after, when (2) that Taxation was doubled and trebled. *Aristides's* Assessment amounted to no more than four hundred and sixty Talents, and soon after *Pericles* encreas'd it almost a third; for *Thucydides* says, that at the Beginning of the War, the *Athenians* receiv'd six hundred Talents from their Allies; and after his Death They that had the Government then in their Hands, rais'd it by little and little (3) 'till it

(1) What an Encomium is this on *Aristides*! that his Taxation shou'd be so just, as to make every Body look on what he pay'd, as the Source of his good Fortune. to Justice or Humanity, but Men resign themselves up to an insatiable Avarice, 'tis not possible they shou'd be restrain'd within any manner of Bounds.

(2) For when, in raising of Taxes, no Regard is had, either (3) Here the Taxes are trebled in Greece, in less than fifty or sixty

it came to thirteen hundred; not that the War grew more expensive, either by its long Continuance, or Want of Success, but because they accustomed (1) the People to receive Distributions of Money, for the Expence of Plays and fine Paintings, and to erect Statues and Temples.

Aristides having gain'd a wonderful Reputation by the Equity of his Taxation, *Themistocles*, 'tis said, made a Jest of it, and used to say, that the Commendation they gave him on this Account, was not the Commendation of a Man, but of a Money-Chest, which safely keeps the Money that is put into it without Diminution: Wherein (2) he revenged himself but very poorly for a Home-thrust given him by *Aristides*, whereat he was very much piqued; for *Themistocles* saying one Day, that he look'd upon the greatest Excellency of a General to be, to foresee and know the Designs of an Enemy; *Aristides* replied, That it was indeed a necessary Qualification, but that (3) there was another which he had not mentioned, that was equally illustrious and becoming a General, which was to have clean Hands, and not to be a Slave to Money.

When

ty Years, not to answer pressing and indispensable Occasions, which justify extraordinary Impositions, but to supply the Luxury and vain Curiosity of the *Athenians*.

(1) For Example, they gave Money to every Citizen, that he might have wherewithal to be present at the Plays, and pay for his Place; and the Price of each Place was from under a Penny to Three Pence Farthing. Afterwards the Price was rais'd, and came to Ten Pence; and this was not paid to the Comedians or Actors, but to the Masters or Managers that de-

fray'd the Expences of the Theater.

(2) Indeed this intended Wit of *Themistocles* was but dull; for a Money-Chest being an inanimate Being, is incapable of Thought or Reason, and consequently of Virtue or Vice.

(3) To foresee and know the Designs of an Enemy, is a necessary Qualification in a General, which shews his Skill and Capacity; but to have clean Hands, is a Qualification that shews his Justice and Virtue; for which Reason *Plutarch* calls it illustrious, since whatever is an Evidence of Virtue,

When *Aristides* had finished the Articles of Alliance, he made all the People of *Greece* swear to the Observation of each Particular; and He himself took the Oath in the Name of the *Athenians*, throwing Pieces of red hot Iron into the Sea, at the same Time that he pronounced Curses against Such as should violate what they had sworn. But afterwards when the *Athenians*, through the Necessity of their Affairs, were forced to be guilty of some Breaches of this Oath, and to rule a little more absolutely, he advised 'em to throw all the Curses upon Him, and so free themselves from the Guilt of that Perjury, which the Necessity of their Affairs required. Upon the whole, *Theophrastus* informs us, that in all his own private Concerns, and Those of his Fellow-Citizens, he was perfectly just; but (1) that in Matters of Government he did many Things according to the present Exigency of Affairs, and their Conduciveness to the publick Good, wherein it often became necessary to fly to Acts of Injustice, and of This he gives several Examples; for he relates, that once in Council where the Debate was about bringing some Treasure to *Athens* that had been deposited at *Delos*, as the *Samians* had advised, tho' contrary to a Treaty, when he came to speak, he said, (2) *that it was expedient, but not just.*

tue, is more excellent than that which only shews Ability and Understanding.

(1) That is to say, that *Aristides* observed Justice in his common Affairs, but thought it might be dispensed with on extraordinary Occasions. In reality, good Policy will justify a Statesman for receding a little from Justice, when Affairs of State necessarily require it; provided Justice be allowed to

go on in her ordinary Course, when that Necessity is over; as there are Laws by which to govern in quiet regular Times, so there are Rules by which to act in Times that are otherwise; Peace has Laws of her own, and so has War too.

(2) This is not sufficient; it should have been said *necessary*; for Expediency alone without Necessity will not excuse Injustice.

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In fine, tho' he had raised his City to so high a Degree of Glory, and established her Dominion over so many People, yet He himself continued poor to the Day of his Death, esteeming his Poverty no less a Glory than all the Laurels he had won, as appears from hence; *Callias* the Torch-bearer, who was his Relation, being accused by his Enemies in a Capital Cause, when the Day of Tryal came, they urged the Heads of their Accusation against him very faintly, but enlarged much on an Affair that was foreign to the Charge, telling the Judges, *You know Aristides the Son of Lyfimachus, who, for his Virtue and Wisdom, is deservedly the Admiration of all Greece. How do You think this poor Man lives at Home, when You see him appear every Day abroad at publick Meetings in a sorry thread-bare Coat? Is it not reasonable to imagine that He who shakes with Cold without Doors, is ready to starve with Hunger, and wants Necessaries within? Yet does Callias, the richest Man in all Athens, wholly neglect this Person, who is his Cousin-German, suffering him, with his Wife and Children, to live in extreme Necessity, notwithstanding he has received great Services from him, and on several Occasions made Use of his Credit and Interest with You.*

(1) *Callias* perceiving that his Judges were more exasperated and moved at this Reproach, than at all the other Crimes of which he had been accused, and fearing the ill Effect that might arise from thence, summoned *Aristides* to appear and testify in his Behalf, that he had not only offered him Money

(1) Nothing can more fully demonstrate the Kindness, Esteem and Veneration which the *Athenians* had for *Aristides*, than what happened at this Tryal; the single Reproach cast upon *Callias* for not assisting a Man of such Merit, who was his Cousin-German, was

looked upon by his Judges as a greater Crime than all the rest, of which he stood accused; tho' no doubt, his Murder of the *Persian*, who had discovered the Treason to him, in the Well, was not forgot,

several

several Times, but mightily press'd him to accept it, which he had always obstinately refused, making him this Answer, *It better becomes Aristides to make a Shew of his Poverty, than Callias of his Wealth; for many People make a bad, as well as a good Use of Riches, but 'tis hard to find One that bears Poverty bravely and nobly, and They only are ashamed of it who are forced to bear it against their Wills.*

Aristides having given this Deposition in *Callias's* Behalf, there was not one Person that went out of the Assembly but was more in Love with *Aristides's* Poverty than his Kinsman's Wealth. This is the Account left us by *Eschines*, the Disciple of *Socrates*; and *Plato*, among all the *Athenians* that were Persons of Eminence and Distinction, judged None of them but *Aristides* worthy of real Esteem. As for *Themistocles*, *Cimon*, and *Pericles*, (1) they filled the City with fine Buildings, Wealth, and such vain Superfluities, but *Aristides*, in his Administration of Affairs, always had a Regard to Virtue.

He gave manifest Proofs of his great Candour and Goodness in his Behaviour, even towards *Themistocles* Himself. For tho' he had been his constant Enemy on all Occasions, and the Cause of his Banishment; yet when a fair Opportunity for Revenge was offered, upon *Themistocles's* being accused of capital Crimes against his Country, he shewed no Resentment of the Injuries he had received, refused to join with *Alcmeon*, *Cimon* and several Others in the Prosecution, said Nothing at all to his Disadvantage, nor in the least insulted him in his Misfortunes, as he had never envied him in his Prosperity.

(1) Great Men and Ministers of State that fill the Capital of their Country with stately Buildings and other expensive Ornaments, are less to be esteem'd than Those who make Virtue abound in it; for He that wou'd make a City happy, must make it virtuous, and not rich, as *Plato* has fully demonstrated.

As to *Aristides's* Death, Some affirm that he died in *Pontus*, whither he was gone upon some Affairs relating to the Publick ; Others, that he died of old Age at *Athens*, in great Honour, Esteem, and Veneration with his Fellow-Citizens: But the Account given us of this great Man's Death by (1) *Craterus* the *Macedonian*, is as follows. After the Banishment of *Themistocles*, the Pride and Insolence of the Populace gave Rise to a great Number of false Witnesses, that attack'd the Reputation of the chiefest and most virtuous Men in the City, exposing 'em to the Envy of the People, who were at that Time highly elated by their Success and Power. *Aristides* Himself did not escape, but fell under a Sentence of Condemnation, having been accused by *Diophantus* of *Amphitrope*, of taking a Bribe from the *Ionians* at the Time of his levying the Tax. He adds, that being unable to pay his Fine, which was fifty *Minas*, he set sail from *Athens*, and died somewhere in *Ionia*. But *Craterus* produces no written Proof of This, neither the Sentence pass'd against him, nor the publick Decree; tho' on other Occasions he is careful to collect this sort of Evidence, and to cite his Authors. Almost all the other Writers that have undertaken to give an Account of the People's Injustice towards their Governors and Generals, make particular Mention of *Themistocles's* Banishment, *Miltiades's* Imprisonment, *Pericles's* Fine, and the Death of *Paches*, who, upon receiving Sentence, killed himself in the Judgment-Hall, before the Tribunal ; besides several other Things of the like Nature ; but None of 'em, any where, speak one Word of this Condemnation of *Aristides* mentioned by *Craterus*.

(1) An Historian that lived a | *crees*. *Vossius* believes him to be
little after the Time of *Aristides*. | the same that accompanied *Alex-*
He had made a Collection of *De-* | *ander* the Great in his Expedition.

To this, I further add; that his Monument is still to be seen at *Phalera*, which was erected at the Charge of the City, he not having left enough behind him to defray his Funeral Expences. 'Tis likewise said, that his Daughters were provided for out of the *Prytaneum*, or publick Treasury, the City having undertaken to see them married, and allotted Each of 'em three thousand Drachmas for her Portion. The People likewise bestowed on his Son *Lyfimachus* an hundred *Minas* of Silver, and a Plantation of as many Acres of Land, besides (1) a Pension of four Drachmas a Day, confirmed to him by a Decree drawn up by *Alcibiades* Himself. *Callisthenes* writes further, that *Lyfimachus* dying and leaving a Daughter whose Name was *Polycrite*, the People assigned her the same Allowance with Those that conquered at the *Olympick* Games. *Demetrius* the *Phalerian*, *Hieronimus* the *Rhodian*, (2) *Aristoxenus* the Musician, and *Aristotle* Himself, if the Treatise concerning Nobility, that is found among his Works, be really His, affirm that *Myrto*, *Aristides's* Grand-daughter, was married to *Socrates* so renowned for his Wisdom, who had another Wife at the same time, but took Her, because she was too poor to get her another Husband. But (3) This is sufficiently confuted by *Panæti*us, in his Life of that Philosopher.

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- (1) Tho' this may now-a-days be looked upon as a Trifle, yet if we consider the Time when it was given, it will be found to be a considerable Sum, forasmuch as in those Days Ambassadors were allowed but two Drachmas a-day, as appears from a Passage in *Aristophanes*, where one of these Ambassadors says, They
- Prince, allowing us two Drachmas a-day.
- (2) This is the same Person that is mentioned in the Life of *Lycurgus*. There is still remaining a musical Work of his in three Books, entitled *περὶ ἀρμο- νικῶν στοιχείων* of the Elements of Musick.
- (3) *Socrates* would never marry a second Wife in the Life-time of

The same *Demetrius*, in a Treatise, entitled *Socrates*, writes, that he remembers to have seen one *Lyfimachus*, Grandson to *Aristides*, who being very poor, sat constantly near the Temple of *Bacchus*, having (1) certain Tables, by which he interpreted Dreams for a Livelihood; and that He himself got a Decree to be past, by which his Mother and Aunt were allowed half a Drachma a-day for their Subsistence. He writes further, than when he afterwards undertook to reform the *Athenian* Laws, he ordered each of those Women a Drachma a-day. And 'tis no wonder that the People of *Athens* took such great Care of their Poor that lived in the City with them, and whom they saw daily, when hearing that a Grand-daughter of *Aristogiton's* lived very poorly in the Isle of *Lemnos*, (2) they sent for her to *Athens*, and married her to one of the richest and most considerable Persons there, giving her for a Portion an Estate in the Borough of *Potamos*. This City, (3) even in our Days, continues

of his First; for, besides that such an Action was inconsistent with his Prudence, and the Severity of his Manners, however they were relaxed at that Time in the Country where he lived, he was not so happy in his First, to be forward to take a Second. *Plato* his Disciple, who has given a particular Account of his Life, mentions but one Wife.

(1) These Tables were Collections, where they marked the Signification or Meaning of every Thing they could think on, and which they pretended to have learn'd by Experience.

(2) *Plutarch* deservedly extolls the Generosity and Charity of the *Athenians*, who not only took Care of such Poor as were al-

ways before their Eyes, but even of Those that were at a great Distance from 'em, and particularly of Such, whose Ancestors had deserved well of the Publick. With what Zeal and Ardour must this needs inspire particular Persons, when they are assured that they leave their Children or Grand-children those Rewards which Death may hinder Them from receiving Themselves? Without any Regard to Charity or Humanity, good Policy alone shou'd induce States to imitate this Example.

(3) From the Time in which *Aristides* liv'd, to the Days of *Plutarch*, is almost fix hundred Years. 'Tis rare for a City to preserve its Virtue so long. What *Plutarch*

tinues to give so many Proofs of the like Humanity and Bounty, that it has upon that Account deservedly gained the Applause, Esteem, and Admiration of the whole World.

search says here of it, is highly to its Honour, and confirms the Commendation given it by a certain Writer, that there was not one poor Person at *Athens* that begged an Alms, and dishonoured the City by his Beggary. Beggars are a publick Reproach and Dishonour to any City.





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IS said that *Cato*, who had the Sirname of *Marcus* from his Father, was born at *Tusculum*, of which Place his Family was originally; and that, before he intermeddled with Civil or Military Affairs, he lived at an Estate which his Father left him near the Country of the *Sabines*. Notwithstanding his Ancestors were generally reckoned very obscure Persons, entirely unknown, yet he boasts of his Father *Marcus* as of a great and valiant Warrior, and assures us, that his Grandfather *Cato* received several military Rewards, or Prizes of Honour, and that having had five Horses slain under him in Battel, the Value of them was paid him out of the publick Treasury, as an Acknowledgment of the signal Proofs he had given of his Bravery and



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and Valour. (1) As the *Romans* always called such Persons *New Men*, who having received no Dignity or Lustre from their Ancestors, were beginning to distinguish and make themselves eminent by their personal Virtues; so they bestowed that Appellation upon *Cato*: But he used to confess that with respect to Honours and Dignities he was indeed new, but in regard to the great Actions and Services of his Ancestors he was very ancient.

His third Name, at first, was not *Cato*, but *Priscus*, tho' it was afterwards changed to that of *Cato*, on account of his great Wisdom; (2) the *Romans* calling wise Men *Catos*. He had a red Face and gray Eyes, as appears from an Epigram made upon him by one of his Enemies after his Death.

*Porcius with Cats gray Eyes, and ruby Face,
Who only snarles and rails in ev'ry Place;
Ev'n now, (3) when dead, will no Admittance gain,
Where Pluto, or where Proserpine do reign.*

As to his Temperament and Disposition of Body, by means of a sober and regular Life, and constant

(1) Any Man that distinguish'd himself by his Virtue and remarkable Actions was reckon'd great and illustrious, but he was not *nobilis* noble, nor did his Posterity derive any particular Marks of Distinction from him. But he whose Ancestors had enjoy'd publick Posts and honourable Employments, was *noble*, and made his Descendents so. *Africanus* has very well explain'd this Distinction. *Qui majorum suorum habuerunt imagines*, says he, *ij nobilis; qui suas tantum ij novi; qui nec majorum nec suas, ignobiles appellati sunt.* They who could shew the Statues of their Ancestors were called *nobiles*, noble; They who had only their Own were called *Novi*; and They who had neither their Ancestors nor their Own, were styled *ignobiles*, ignoble.

For the Right or Privilege of having their Statues, the *Fus Imaginum*, was annexed to certain Posts or Dignities.

(2) I suspect there is some Fault in the Text: For I don't think the *Romans*, before the time of this *Cato*, ever called wise Men *Catos*; but they were styled *Catos* from the Latin Word *Catus*, signifying Sage, prudent, advised; *Catus Aelius Sextus* in *Emmianus*; and this way, no doubt, *Plutarch* wrote and meant it.

(3) This is a very pleasant Stroke of the ancient Satire, and is so much the more so as it turns upon *Proserpine*, who is no less concerned on her own account than that of the rest of the Shades, at this snarling Character of *Cato*.

Pains and Exercise, to which he was early accustomed, by being bred up in a Camp, he had contracted a good Habit with respect to Strength as well as Health : And as for Elocution, or Eloquence, That he looked upon as a second Body, and not only as an useful but necessary Instrument for every Person that would not live in Obscurity, but must be concerned in publick Affairs, and therefore took particular Care to cultivate and improve it. He went and pleaded in several Boroughs and little neighbouring Villages, undertaking the Defence of All that applied to him, insomuch that he was soon reckoned a good Lawyer, zealous for his Clients, and afterwards gain'd the Reputation of a good Orator.

From this time forward All that convers'd much with him discovered such a Gravity of Behaviour, such a Greatness of Mind, and such a Superiority of Genius as were fit for the Management of the greatest Affairs, even in the Sovereign City of the World. He not only shew'd his Disinterestedness and contempt of Money by refusing to take any Fees for Pleading, but it further appear'd that the Honour arising from such Contests was not that kind of Glory he aimed at, or could be satisfied with; his sole Ambition being to distinguish himself against an Enemy in the Field. While he was but a Youth his Breast was full of Scars from the Wounds he had received in Battel; for he says himself (1) that he was but seventeen Years old when he made his first Campaign, at the time when

(1) Forasmuch as *Hannibal* continued some Years in *Italy*, this Epoch is not yet sufficiently fix'd. If we grant *Hannibal's* greatest Success to have been that Year wherein he won the Battel of *Canna*, which was the last Year of the hundred and fortieth *Olympiad*, the

Birth of *Cato* will be found to have been in the last Year of the hundred thirty sixth *Olympiad*, two hundred and thirty one Years before our Saviour's Birth. And This agrees with the Year mentioned by *Cicero*.

Hannibal was so successful in ravaging and laying *Italy* waste with Fire and Sword. His Manner in Battel was never to give way, but constantly advance, to strike sharply, and with a fierce Countenance stare the Enemy in the Face; being with Reason convinced Himself, and convincing Others, that such a Behaviour often strikes more Terror into an Enemy than the Sword it self. He always marched on Foot, and carried his own Arms, followed only by one Servant that carried his Provisions. And 'tis said, he never was in a Passion, or angry with that Servant, whatever he provided him to eat, but would often, when he was at leisure from military Duty, ease and assist him in dressing it. All the time he continued in the Army, he drank nothing but Water, unless sometimes when he was extremely thirsty (1) he would ask for a little Vinegar, or when he found himself fatigued and dispirited he would take a little Wine.

Near his Country-seat was a little Farm-house that heretofore belonged (2) to *Manius Curius*, who had been thrice honoured with a Triumph. *Cato* often walked thither, and reflecting on the Smallness of the Farm, and Poorness of the Dwelling, used to think with himself, what kind of Person He must needs be, who, after he became the greatest Man in *Rome*, conquered the most warlike Na-

(1) For Vinegar is cooling; *ὄξος ψυχρὸν*, says *Hippocrates*; for which Reason it was usually given to Mowers, and Labourers in the Fields. *Booz* said to *Ruth*, *At Meal-time come thou hither, and eat of the Bread, and dip thy morsel in the Vinegar.* *Ruth* ii. 14.

(2) *Manius Curius Dentatus* triumphed twice in his first Consulate, in the four hundred and sixty third Year of *Rome*, first over the *Samnites*, and afterwards over the

Sabines. And eight Years after that, in his third Consulate, he triumphed over *Pyrrhus*, two and forty Years before *Cato* was born. After this he triumphed again over the *Lucanians*; but This was only the lesser Triumph, called *Ovation*. In the Original, the Copyists, instead of *Manius* have written *Marcius*; these Faults we often find with respect to Names, so that it is sufficient to correct them without taking an further notice of them.

tions, and expelled *Pyrrhus* out of *Italy*, cultivated this little Spot of Ground Himself, and after so many Triumphs, dwelt in so mean a Cottage. There it was, said he to himself, that the Ambassadors of the *Samnites* found him cooking Turnips in the Chimney Corner, and having offered him a large Present of Gold, received this Answer from him; *That He who could be content with such a Supper, wanted no Gold, and that he thought it more glorious to conquer the Owners of it, than to possess the Gold it self.*

Full of these Thoughts he returned home, and taking a Review of his House, Estate, Servants, and Charge of House-keeping, encreased his daily Labour, and retrenched all unnecessary Expences.

(1) When *Fabius Maximus* took the City of *Tarentum*, *Cato*, who was then very young, served under him. Happening at that time to lodge with one *Nearchus* a *Pythagorean*, he desired to hear some of his Philosophy; and finding his Reflections the same with *Plato's*, that *Pleasure is the greatest Alurement to Evil, that the greatest Plague and Calamity of the Soul is the Body, from which it cannot disengage and free it self in this World, but by such Thoughts and Reasonings as wean and separate it from all corporeal Passions and Affections*, He was so much charmed with his Discourse, that he grew more in love with Frugality and Temperance. 'Tis said, however, that he learned Greek very late, and that he was considerably advanced in Years when he began to read the Grecian Writers, among whom he received some Advantage from *Thucydides*, but much more from *Demosthenes*, towards forming his Style,

(1) *Fabius Maximus* took the City of *Tarentum* when he was the fifth time Consul, in the five hundred and forty fourth Year of *Rome*, the last Year of the hundred and forty second Olympiad.

Cato was then three and twenty Years old; but he had made his first Campaign five Years before under the same *Fabius*, who was then the fourth time Consul.

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and improving his Eloquence: At least we find his Writings handsomely adorned and enriched with Maxims and Histories borrowed from *Greek* Originals; and among his Morality and Sentences, a great many things literally translated and taken from thence.

There liv'd at that time a certain *Roman* Nobleman of great Power and Eminence, called *Valerius Flaccus*, whose Sagacity and Penetration enabled him to discern a budding Virtue, and whose Goodness and Generosity inclined him to cherish and advance it. This Person having an Estate adjoining to *Cato's*, often heard his Servants speak of his Neighbour's manner of Life, and the great Pains he took with his own Hands; how he would go early in the Morning to the little neighbouring Villages, to plead and defend the Causes of Such as applied themselves to him; that from thence he would return into his Field, where throwing a sorry Jacket over his Shoulders, if it was Winter, or naked, if it was Summer, he would labour with his Domesticks, and, when their Work was over, would sit down with them at the same Table, eat of the same Bread, and drink of the same Wine. They related likewise several other Proofs of his Condescension and Moderation, repeating many of his Sayings, which were so many wise and profound Sentences.

Valerius pleased with these Relations sent to invite him to Dinner; and from that time, by frequent Conversation, discover'd in him so much Sweetness of Temper, Probity, Politeness and Wit, that he seem'd to him like an excellent Plant, that deserved better Culture, and to be removed to a better Soil; he therefore advis'd and perswaded him to go to *Rome*, and apply himself to Affairs of Policy and State.

He had not been long there before his Pleading gained him Friends and Admirers; and *Valerius's* great Respect for him, and Endeavours to advance

him, adding to his general Esteem, he was first made a Military Tribune, and afterwards Quæstor. And having gained great Reputation and Esteem in those Posts, he was joined with *Valerius* himself in the highest Dignities and Commands, being Fellow-Consul with him, and afterwards Censor.

Among all the ancient Senators, he, at first, attach'd himself chiefly to *Fabius Maximus*, not so much on account of the Greatness of his Power and Authority, as because he esteemed and admired him most, looking upon his Conduct and manner of Life as the best Model by which to form his Own: So that he made no Scruple of falling out with the great *Scipio*, who, tho' he was at that time very young, was the Person that most opposed and envied the Glory and Grandeur of *Fabius*. For being sent Treasurer of the Army with *Scipio* in the *African War*, and finding the General live according to his usual manner, at a very expensive Rate, and give his Troops Money without the least Thrift, or good Management, he spoke freely to him, and told him, *That the Greatness of the Expence itself was not the greatest Damage to the Publick; but that it was an irreparable Injury to corrupt the ancient Simplicity of the Soldiery, by accustoming them to spend in Luxury and Riot the Over-plus of a Pay that ought to be only sufficient for their necessary Occasions;* to which *Scipio* reply'd, *That he had no occasion for so exact a Treasurer, for he would make an expeditious War of it, and that he ought to give the People an account of the Actions he performed, but not of the Money he spent.*

Upon this Answer, *Cato* left *Sicily* and returned to *Rome*, where, together with *Fabius*, making a mighty Noise in the Senate against *Scipio's* vast and needless Expences; and that he spent his Time childishly at the Play-houses and Wrestling-matches, as if he had not been sent to make War, but exhibit publick Games and
Diversions,

Diversions, he prevailed so far, that Tribunes were sent to examine the Matter; and in case the Accusation prov'd true, to bring *Scipio* back to *Rome*.

When the Tribunes were arrived in the Army, *Scipio* represented to them, *That the Success of that War depended entirely on the great Expence and Preparations that had been made for it*; and made it appear, *That indeed, when he was at Leisure, he had liv'd cheerfully with his Friends, but that his Liberality and Bounty had not hindred him from observing a strict and exact Discipline, or made him omit any thing of Moment and Consequence*. With this Answer the Tribunes were satisfied, and *Scipio* continued his March towards *Africa*.

But to return to *Cato*; the Power and Reputation he gained by his Eloquence encreased daily; so that he was generally styled the *Roman Demosthenes*; but what was still more admired and talk'd of was his Manner of Life. In Eloquence, he had many Rivals, all the Youth of *Rome* aspiring at the Glory of speaking well, and endeavouring to excel each other; but in every thing else he had very few Imitators; for 'twas very rare to meet with Persons like Him, that would till their Ground with their own Hands, that would be content with a Dinner cook'd without Fire, and a spare frugal Supper at Night; that would be satisfied with a plain Dress and a poor Cottage, and account it more reputable not to want Superfluities than to possess them. The State was now (1) no longer able to preserve the Purity and Severity of its ancient Discipline by reason of its vast Extent, but by means of the great Variety of different Affairs under its Management, and the infinite Number of People that submitted

(1) This is a Truth confirmed by the Experience of all Ages. Severity of Manners and Purity of Discipline relax in a State in proportion to its increase in Grandeur and Extent of Dominion, the Reasons of which are very obvious.

to its Government, was forced to receive a confused Medley of Customs and new Fashions of living. Justly therefore was *Cato* admired, who Alone, when all the other Citizens were frightened at Labour, and softned by Pleasure, remained unconquered by Either, not only in his Youth, and at the height of his Ambition, but in his old Age, when his Hair was silvered over by Time, after his Consulship and Triumphs; like a brave Wrestler, who after he has come off Conqueror, observes his common Rules, and continues his usual Exercises to the very last.

He writes himself, that he never wore a Garment that cost more than an hundred *Drachmas*; even when he was General, or Consul, he drank the same Wine with his Servants; that the Provisions for his Table at Dinner never cost above thirty *Sesterces*; and all This was done out of love to his Country, that his Body being made strong and robust, by a plain spare Diet, might be rendered more able to sustain the Fatigues of War.

He adds, that (1) having a Piece of fine *Babylonian* Tapistry left him by a Friend, he sold it the same Day; that in all his Country Houses, he had not a Wall plaistered or white-wash'd; that he never gave above fifteen hundred *Drachmas* for a Slave, always refusing such as were handsome, nice and well made, and chusing Those that were strong and fit for Labour, to drive his Cattle, or take care of his Horses; and (2) these Slaves he thought he ought

(1) The Greek is ἐπίβλημα τῶν ποικίλων βασιλῶνιον. Now the Word ἐπίβλημα may signify a Garment, a Caunterpain, or a Piece of Tapistry. I have taken it in the last Sense, on account of a Passage in the eleventh Chapter of *Isaiah*, where we find ἐπιβλήματα τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν, which, in my Opinion, can be only understood of such Tapistry, or Covering, as the *Persians* laid on their Chamber Floors.

(2) This *Cato* says in express Words; he will have the Master of a Family sell every thing that

ought to sell again when they were grown old, that he might not maintain useless Creatures. In a word, he reckon'd nothing cheap that was superfluous, but that every thing, tho' it cost but a Farthing, was dear, if needless; and preferr'd good arable Land and Pasture to Gardens or Walks that require much watering or sweeping.

Some impute This to Niggardliness and sordid Avarice; but Others maintain, that he deny'd and confin'd himself within narrower Bounds, on purpose to correct and amend by his Example the Extravagance and Luxury of his Fellow-Citizens. For my Part, (1) I look upon it as a Sign of a vile Disposition, and of a mean sordid Soul, to use Servants like Beasts of Burden, and after their Ends are serv'd, to turn 'em off, or to sell 'em in their old Age; as if they thought that no Communication or Commerce was to be maintain'd between Man and Man, any further than Necessity or Interest requir'd. Besides we see that Good-nature, or Humanity, has a larger Field than bare Justice to exercise it self in; for we were born to observe Law and Equity between Man and Man, and with Respect only to one another, (2) but we may extend our Kindness and Beneficence to irrational Creatures; and such Acts flow from a mild good Nature, as Water from an exuberant Fountain.

is old and useless. *Vendat boves vetulos, armenta delicula, oves deliculas, lanam, pelles, plostrum vetus, ferramenta vetera, servum senem, servum morbosum, &c. siquid aliud supersit, vendat. Patrem familias vendacem, non emacem esse oportet.* And he is in the right in every thing, except Slaves.

(1) This Sentiment of Plutarch's does him a great deal of Honour; the thing was more unjust at that time than it is now, because their

Slaves cou'd acquire nothing for themselves, whereas our Servants may earn and spare what is sufficient to support 'em in their old Age.

(2) This is certainly true, and the Philosophers have prov'd that 'tis the Property of a good Man to do good not only to all Men, but to all kind of living Creatures; nay they have extended it even to Plants and the most inanimate Things. See *Simplicius*, on *Art.* 34th of *Epictetus's* Manual.

'Tis

'Tis indeed agreeable to a humane good-natur'd Man to keep even his Cart-Horses and Dogs, and not only take care of them whilst they are young and useful, but when they are grown old and past their Labour. Thus the *Athenians*, after they had finish'd the Temple call'd *HECATOMPEDON*, set at Liberty all the Beasts of Burden that had been employ'd on that Occasion, suffering them to feed at large in the Pastures, free from any further Service; and 'tis said that one of These coming afterwards of its own Accord to offer its Service, by putting it self at the Head of Teams that drew the Carriages to the Castle, and going all the way before 'em, as it were to incite and encourage 'em to undergo their Labour, a Decree was made that it should be kept at the publick Charge 'till it died. The Graves of *Cimon's* Mares with which he thrice conquer'd at the Olympick Games are still to be seen near his own Monument. Many others have taken care to bury their Dogs when dead, which when alive they always us'd like familiar Friends. The Story of old *Xanthippus*, the Father of *Pericles*, is well known. When the *Athenians*, in the Time of the *Persian* War, were forc'd to abandon their City, and retire to *Salamine*, *Xanthippus* embark'd along with the rest; but his Dog, unable to bear the Loss of his Master, leap'd into the Sea, and swam after his Vessel to *Salamine*, where as soon as he came on Shore, he died, and was by his Master interred there, and his Monument is still to be seen, from thence call'd *The Dog's Tomb*, to this very Day. For we ought not to use living Creatures as we do Shooes or Household Goods, which we throw away when they are worn out with Use; and were it only to qualify our selves for Acts of Humanity, we shou'd by long Use accustom our selves to be tender and humane in these little Matters. As for my own Part,

I know very well, (1) that I cou'd not on any Account whatever rid my self of an Ox grown old in my Service, much less cou'd I ever resolve to part with an old Servant for a little Money, and expell him as it were from his Country, by turning him out of my House, and forcing him from his usual Place of Abode, and manner of Living; especially considering (2) that he wou'd be as useless to the Person that bought him, as he was to me that sold him.

Notwithstanding this, *Cato* as it were in a boasting manner tells us, that he left behind him in *Spain* the Horse that he rode when he commanded there; that he might not put the Publick to the Charge of carrying him from thence to *Italy*. But (3) whether such Things as These are to be ascrib'd to a Greatness or Meanness of Soul, is left to the Reader's Judgment to decide. However as to his Temperance he was really to be admir'd,

(1) *Plutarch* in this matter carries Humanity a little too far; and it is too strict an Attachment to the *Pythagorean* Philosophy. Why mayn't one get rid of an Ox that has done good Service, and is at last grown old? Were there no Shambles in those Days, and was not Sustenance necessary? Now that we have more certain Rules of Humanity and Justice than those Philosophers had, we think it sufficient to take care that a labouring Ox be well fed and not overwork'd; but we sell him when old, because he is fit for other Uses. What *Plutarch* adds concerning Servants is extremely fine.

(2) To the Reason taken from Humanity *Plutarch* joins here another taken from Justice. He forbids us to burden another with an useless Slave, which we know to

be such, forasmuch as he can be of no further Service to us. But does not the Buyer see what he is? He has his particular Ends. No matter for that; this Sentiment of *Plutarch's* is very fine and commendable, and 'tis best to offend on this Side of the Question.

(3) *Plutarch* will not decide it himself; for according to his Principles his Decision wou'd have been no way favourable to *Cato*; but to pass a Judgment on these Maxims of *Cato*, we ought to judge of 'em according to the Rules of the *Stoick* Philosophy, which he was a Follower of. According to these Rules, there will no Meanness of Soul be found in his whole Conduct, but I doubt whether we can find any Magnanimity in it. If there be Any, I fear it is more notional than real.

which

for it exceeded every thing that can be imagin'd.

All the Time he commanded the Army, he never demanded of the Publick above three Bushels of Wheat a Month for Himself and his whole Family, and less than a Bushel and a half of Barley a-day for his Horses and Carriages. When he was Governour of *Sardinia*, tho' his Predecessors us'd to put the Publick to a great Expence for Tents, Bedding and Cloaths, and to become a further Charge to 'em by a vast and numerous Retinue of Friends and Domesticks, besides Plays, Entertainments and the like; He, on the contrary, became only remarkable for an incredible and unheard-of Plainness and Frugality in all his Expences. For he never took one Penny of the Publick, and when he visited the Cities under his Government, he went on Foot, without any Coach, attended only by one publick Officer, who carried his Garment and a Vessel for Sacrificing. But if in such Things as These he appear'd easy, plain, and agreeable to All that were under his Command, he on the other hand made 'em feel his Gravity and Severity in every Thing else; for he was inexorable and immovable in whatever related to publick Justice, and inflexibly strict and rigid in the Execution of all his Orders: So that (1) the *Roman* Government had never 'till then appear'd to that People either so terrible, or so amiable.

The same Character, that is to say, the same Mixture of contrary Qualities that appears in his Conduct and Behaviour, may likewise be found in his Style, which is at the same time courteous and strong, soft and vehement, facetious and austere,

(1) Here are two Effects that together, when Governours to seem quite contrary to one another; strict Justice join Plainness, Moderation and good Nature.

sententious and yet plain and familiar, like what is used in common Conversation and Discourse. And as *Plato* says of *Socrates*, that he appeared outwardly, at first View, an unpolite, ill-look'd lewd Fellow, but (1) that he was full of Virtue within, and spoke such pathetick and divine Things as would move the very Soul, and force Tears from the Hearers Eyes : The same may be said of *Cato* ; so that I cannot comprehend their Meaning, who have compared his Style to That of *Lysias* ; however (2) we shall leave This to be determined by Such, to whom it more properly belongs to distinguish between and judge of the several Kinds of *Roman* Styles : For my own Part, being persuaded that the Dispositions and Manners of Men may better be discovered by their Words than their Looks, where notwithstanding they are generally sought for, I shall here write down some of his most remarkable Sayings.

One Day when the People clamour'd violently and unseasonably for a Distribution of Corn, to dissuade them from it, he began to harangue them thus ; *'Tis a difficult Task, my Fellow-Citizens, to speak to a Belly that has no Ears.* Another time reproving the excessive Luxury of the *Roman* Tables, he said, *'Twas hard to save a City where a Fish was sold for more than an Ox.* On another Occasion he said, *The Roman People were like Sheep ; for as a*

(1) I have translated this Passage exactly as it is found in *Plato's Banquet*, from whence it is taken. *Tom. 3. p. 216 and 221.* I suspect there is something wanting in the Original Text of *Plutarch* ; for the Words *σπυδαῖς καὶ πρᾶγμα-των μέδον* *ἐναι* seem to be very inconsiderable in Comparison to what *Alcibiades* says himself in the Original.

(2) *Plutarch* was not a perfect Master of the *Latin* Tongue, but yet he understood it well enough to read any *Latin* Author ; and he had read not only all Those we now have, but several Others that have been lost since his time ; and yet he refuses to take upon him to judge of their Style. A very laudable Modesty this, tho' little imitated in our Days.

The LIFE of

single Sheep will not of Himself do any thing, or obey the Shepherd Alone, but does all for Company, constantly following the Flock ; just so is it with You Romans ; those Counsellors whose single Advice You would scorn to follow, when alone, lead You as they please, when together. You follow one another's Example exactly like Sheep.

In another Discourse that he made against the Authority that Wives assumed over their Husbands, he said, *All Men usually govern the Women, We govern all Men, and our Wives govern Us.* But this Saying might have been taken from the *Apothegms* of *Themistocles*, whose Son governing him in many things through his Mother, he said to her, *Wife, the Athenians govern all the Greeks, I govern the Athenians, thou governeest me, and thy Son governs thee ; let Him therefore use his Power more sparingly, which, as silly as he is, makes him Master of all Greece.*

Another time he said, *that the People of Rome put a Price not only upon several kinds of Colours ; but likewise upon Studies and Arts ; for, added he, as Dyers dye such Purples as please best, and are most esteemed, (1) so our Youth only study and search after such things as you approve and commend.*

Exhorting them once to Virtue, he said, *If ye are become great by Virtue and Wisdom, don't change for the worse ; but if it be by Intemperance and Vice, change for the better, for ye are that way great enough already.*

Concerning such Persons as made Interest for Places, he used to say, (2) *that they were People who*

(1) A very common Error This, in all Governments ; Men only learn and search after what is approved and esteemed, because That is the only Way to Preferment, whilst every Thing else is slighted.

Hence it comes, that Learning and all Arts and Sciences are so much disregarded.

(2) This is a fine Saying, by which *Plutarch* reproached those Persons, who courted Honours and Preferments,

who not knowing their Way, for fear of losing it, sought for Tip-staffs and Mace-bearers, to go before and conduct them.

He reproved his Fellow-Citizens for often chusing the same Persons to the highest Posts and Dignities, *You*, said he, *either put no great Value on your Posts of Honour, or else you can't find many Persons worthy to fill them.*

Concerning one of his Enemies who led a very shameful and infamous Life, he said, (1) *his Mother takes it for a Curse and not a Prayer, when any one wishes this Son may survive her.*

One Day pointing at a Man who had sold an Estate left him by his Father near the Sea-side, he pretended to admire at the Man as One stronger than the Sea it self; for, said he, *what the Sea could not undermine and overflow without great Difficulty, He has swallowed at once without any Pains at all.*

When King *Eumenes* came to Rome the Senate received him with all imaginable Honour, and all the Romans thronged about him, striving to outdo one another in making their Court to him; but it plainly appeared that *Cato* despis'd and endeavour'd to shun him; whereupon One said to him, *Why do you thus shun Eumenes, who is so good a King, and so great a Friend to the Romans? As good a King as you please*, reply'd he, *but I know very well* (2) *that that same Animal of a King is a Man-*

Preferments, with their Ignorance. which made them stand in need of Tip-staffs and Mace-bearers to direct and conduct them.

(1) There never was a more cutting Stroke of Satire than This. The Fondness of Mothers for their Children is so great, that a Man must needs make himself very infamous to force a Mother to look

upon any one's wishing he may survive her as a Curse.

(2) This Stroke is taken from the first Iliad of Homer. *ὁ δὲ μὲν ὅς πορ βασιλεὺς*, a People-devouring King. 'Tis no wonder that this Saying made a strong Impression on *Cato*, who was a Republican and a Man of rigid Temper. But all Kings are not such; if

Some

Man-eater; nor is there One among the most renowned of them All that can be compared to Epaminondas, Pericles, Themistocles, Manius Curius, or even to Amilcar Sirnamed Barcas.

He often said, that his Enemies hated him because he rose before Day, not to take care of his own Affairs but those of the Commonwealth; (1) that he had rather do well, and not be rewarded, than do ill and not be punished; and that he could pardon other Mens Faults, but never forgive his own.

The Romans having on a certain time named three Ambassadors to go to the King of Bithynia, One of which had the Gout, the Other had his Skull trepann'd, and the Third was reckoned a Fool, Cato made himself merry with this fine Choice, and said, That Rome had sent an Embassy that had neither Feet, Head, nor Brains.

Being solicited by Scipio, at the Request of Polybius, to favour (2) the Cause of Those

Some have been cruel and unjust, and Tyrants rather than Kings, there have been Others that were Kings indeed, that is to say, who have governed with Justice and Humanity, and who have shewn themselves Fathers, rather than Masters, of their People.

(1) This is a great Sentiment, taken from the Depths of Philosophy. 'Tis no great Misfortune to miss the Reward, in this Life, for the Good we have done; tho' 'tis so to escape the Punishment for the Evil we have committed, because for want of it we carry our Iniquities along with us into another World; whereas the Chastisement we receive for them in This, purges the Soul, and often frees it from that Punishment which is the just Reward of Sin. This is a Truth demonstrated by

Plato, and still more plainly taught by Religion.

(2) Plutarch speaks here of those thousand Achaians, who having been accused of being in a Conspiracy to deliver up their Country to the King of Persia, were seiz'd, sent back to Rome, and dispersed all over Italy, in the first Year of the hundred and fifty third Olympiad. There they continued seventeen Years, after which, such as remained alive, which were to the Number of about three hundred, were restored by a Decree of the Senate, which was particularly made in Favour of Polybius, in the second Year of the hundred and fifty seventh Olympiad. Polybius called them κατητιωμένους, the Accused, and ἀνακληθέντες, those that were recalled, of which Number He was one.

that

that were banished out of *Achaia*, when the Matter came before the Senate, there were great Debates, Some declaring for the Return of the Exiles, and their being restored to their Estates, while Others opposed it; but *Cato* rising up when it came to his Turn to speak, said, *We trifle away a whole Day here, as if we had nothing else to do but to debate (1) whether a Parcel of sorry old Greeks shall be interred by our Grave-diggers, or by Those of their own Country.* The Decree of the Senate was, that the Exiles should return home.

Some Days after *Polybius* begged leave to appear before the Senate, in order to present a Petition in Behalf of those Exiles, that they might be restored to the Honours they enjoyed before their Banishment; but before he took this Step, he waited upon *Cato* to know his Opinion of the matter, and told him his Design; at which *Cato* smiled and said, *Polybius, (2) you do not imitate the Wisdom of Ulysses; you have a mind to return to the Cyclop's Cave for a Hat and Belt you left behind.*

(1) The Humour of this Saying of *Cato's* would not be perceived without knowing that these Exiles were dispersed all over *Italy*, and continued there seventeen Years.

(2) There is not a Place in all *Plutarch* that has been worse us'd by the Translator than This. Some have given it this Sense, *Mathinks, Polybius, you do like Ulysses, who after he had escaped out of Cyclops Den, had a mind to return thither to fetch his Hat and Belt, that he left behind him.* The Latin Translator says the same; *Polybius ait sicut Ulysses, iterum velle Cyclopi speluncam, quod pileum illuc & cinctum per oblivio-*

nem reliquisset, subire. Whoever will read the ninth Book of the *Odyssey* will find that *Ulysses* did not leave his Hat and Belt in the *Cyclop's* Cave, nor had the least Thoughts of returning thither to search for them, and consequently that this Place in *Plutarch* ought to be corrected, *ὡς ὁ Ὀδυσσεύς, You don't do like Ulysses.* The very Sense of the Passage requires this Emendation; *Cato* would not, nor ought to have told *Polybius* that he acted like a wise Man, but that he did *not* act like a wise Man had not done. As *Polybius* was One of those that were banished, this Saying is very fine and just.

He used to say, *that wise Men learn more from Fools, than Fools from wise Men; because wise Men shun the Follies of Fools, but Fools will not follow the Example of wise Men.*

He used to say further, *that he loved young People that blush'd, rather than Such as grew pale; and that he did not like a Soldier that mov'd his Hands in marching, and his Feet in fighting, and who snored louder in Bed than he shouted in Battel.*

In order to make a Jest on a huge fat Fellow, he said, *Of what Service to his Country can a Body be, that is nothing but Belly?*

When a certain voluptuous Epicure courted his Friendship, he peremptorily refused it, saying, *that he could not live with a Man whose Palate had a quicker Sensation than his Heart.*

He used to say, *that the Soul of a Lover lived in the Body of another; and that in all his Life he never repented but of three Things; the First was, that he had trusted a Secret to a Woman; the Second, that he had gone by Water when he might have gone by Land; and the Third, that he had spent a Day without doing any thing at all.* To a very debauched old Fellow, he said, *Friend, old Age has Deformities enow of its own, do not add to it the Deformity of Vice.*

A Tribune of the People who was suspected to be a Poisoner, proposing an unjust Law which he took Pains to have passed, Cato said to him, *Young Man, I don't know which is the most dangerous, to drink what you prepare, or to enact what you propose.*

Being scurrilously treated by a Fellow who led a licentious and dissolute Life, A Contest, said he, *between Thee and Me is very unequal; for Thou canst bear ill Language with ease, and return it with Pleasure; but as for my part, 'tis unusual to Me to bear it, and disagreeable to speak it.*

These are such of his Sayings and Answers as have been transmitted to us, which sufficiently shew the Man.

Being

Being chosen Consul with his Friend *Valerius Flaccus*, the Government of that Part of *Spain*, by the *Romans* called *Citerior*, fell to his Lot. There, having subdued some of those Nations by Force of Arms, and won others by Kindness, he found himself all at once surrounded by an Army of *Barbarians*, and in danger of being defeated, and consequently of being driven out of his new Settlements. Whereupon he sent forthwith to desire the Assistance of the *Celtiberians*, his Neighbours; but they demanding two hundred Talents, as a Reward for their Service, all the Officers of the Army thought it intolerable that the *Romans* should be obliged to purchase Assistance of *Barbarians*; but *Cato* said, *This Bargain is not so bad as you imagine; for if we conquer, we will pay them at the Expence of our Enemies; but if we are conquered, there will be no Body either to pay, or make the Demand.* But he won the Battel, and every thing succeeded according to his Desire. *Polybius* says, that the Walls of all the Cities of that part of *Spain*, that lies on this side the River *Bæris* were raz'd by his Command in one and the same Day, notwithstanding they were many in number, and all of them full of brave and warlike Men. *Cato* himself writes, that he took more Cities than he spent Days in his Expedition; nor is this a piece of Vain Boasting, for they were in reality four hundred in number.

Notwithstanding his Troops had taken a prodigious Booty in this Expedition, yet he gave to each Man a pound of Silver, saying, that it was better that All of them should return home with a little Silver, than only a Few with a great deal of Gold. And as for his own part, he assures us, that of all the things that were taken during the whole War, nothing came to his Share but what he eat and drank. Not, said he, that I blame Such as make an Advantage of these Opportunities; but because I

had rather contend with the best Men for Valour, than with the Richest for Wealth, or with the most Covetous for Love of Money.

And he not only kept himself clear from all kind of Plunder and Extortion, but likewise all his Servants, and such as were more immediately under his Command.

He had brought five Servants with him to the Army, One of which, whose Name was *Paccus*, having bought three Boys out of Those that were taken Prisoners, and finding his Master had Knowledge of it, durst not appear before him, but chose rather to hang himself than come into his Presence, whereupon *Cato* caused the three Boys to be sold, and the Price of them to be put into the publick Treasure.

While he was busy in settling the Affairs of *Spain*, *Scipio* the Great, who was his Enemy, and had a mind to put a Stop to the Course of his Success, and have the Honour of finishing the War Himself, prevail'd so far by his secret Practices and Intreagues, as to be chosen to succeed him in that Government. After which he lost no time at all, but made all possible Haste to take from *Cato* the Command of the Army; but He, hearing of his March, went to meet him, taking with him five Companies of Foot, and five hundred Horse, as a Convoy to attend him, and by the Way defeated the *Lacetanians*, and took among them six hundred Roman Deserters, whom he caused to be put to Death: And when *Scipio* seemed to resent it, he told him with a Smile, (1) *that Rome would then be great indeed if Men of Birth would dispute the first Place of*

(1) As *Scipio* envy'd *Cato* the Reward due to his Virtue, by him as far as he could, by acting the Part of a General to the very taking from him the Government last, and by punishing Those who of *Spain*, *Cato* disputed it with deserved it.

Valour with Those who were more obscure, and if They, who were of the Commonality, as He himself was, would contend in Valour with Those, who were more eminent and honourable.

Now the Senate decreeing, that Nothing of what had been established by *Cato* should be altered, it came to pass, that the Honour *Scipio* had so much courted, lessened His Glory more than *Cato's*; for the whole time of his Government was spent to no manner of purpose, without any Wars at all, or performing one remarkable Action.

Nor did *Cato*, even after his Triumph, remit or slacken the Reins of Virtue, as many of Those do, who strive not for Virtue's sake, but Vain-glory, and having attained the highest Honours pass the rest of their Life in Pleasure and Idleness, and so quit all Affairs relating to the Publick: But He, like Those who are just got into Office, and thirst after Honour and Glory, stretch'd himself out as at the Beginning of a Race, being always ready to serve his Country either at the Bar, or in the Field. Thus (1) he attended the Consul *Tiberius Sempronius*, who was sent into *Thrace*, and upon the *Danube*, and served as a Lieutenant under him; and afterwards as a Tribune or Commander of a thousand Men under the Consul *Manius Acilius Glabrio*, when he was sent into *Greece* against King *Antiochus*, who, next to *Hannibal*, seemed the most dreadful Enemy the Romans ever had; for having taken from *Seleucus Nicanor* all the Provinces he possess'd in *Asia*, and reduced to his Obedience

(1) The Year after his Consulship, and the second Year of the hundred and forty sixth *Olympiad*. The Roman History abounds with Examples of Persons, who after commanding Armies Themselves, have served under other Generals: And 'tis my Opinion, that This is one

of those things that most contri-
buted to advance the Grandeur of
Rome. Those great Men had no
private Views of their Own, but
were wholly devoted to the Pub-
lick, and therefore ready to serve
it in any Quality whatever.

several barbarous, but warlike Nations, in the Pride of his Success, he turned his victorious Arms against the *Romans*, as against the only People that were a Match for him, and able to dispute with him the Empire of the World: So he marched against them with a powerful Army, colouring his Design with the specious Pretence of freeing the *Greeks*; of which they stood in no need, since they were already made free, and enjoyed the full Liberty of their Laws, having been lately delivered from the Yoke of King *Philip*, and the *Macedonians*, by the Kindness of the *Romans* themselves.

At his Approach all *Greece* was in a Commotion, and unresolved how to act, having been corrupted by the mighty Hopes given them by the Partizans and popular Speakers that *Antiochus* had won over to his Interest; but *Acilius* sent Ambassadors to them, and confirmed them in their Duty. *Titus Flaminius* likewise did, without much trouble, baffle the Attempts of those Innovators, of which we have given an account in his Life; *Cato* also gave new Courage to the People of *Corinth*, as well as to Those of *Patras* and *Ægeum*, and stay'd a great while at *Athens*. 'Tis said likewise, that there is still extant an Oration of His that he spoke in *Greek* to the People of *Athens* on that Occasion, in which he highly extols the Virtue of their Ancestors, and sets forth the great Pleasure he had to behold the Beauty and Grandeur of that renowned City. But this Report is not true, for he only spoke to the *Athenians* by an Interpreter; not that he was unable to speak to them in their own Tongue, but his Intention was to maintain the Dignity of the *Roman* Language, and ridicule Those who admired nothing but what was *Greek*. Thus he made a Jest of *Posthumius Albinus*, who having written an History in *Greek*, asked his Readers Pardon for the Improprieties he might be guilty of in a strange Language,

Language, *He ought, without doubt, to be pardoned,* said *Cato*, *had he been obliged to write this History by Order of the Amphictyons.* The *Athenians*, they say, admired the Strength and Brevity of his Style; for what he expressed in a few Words, the Interpreter was forced to explain by long and tedious Circumlocations; insomuch that he left them in this Belief, (1) that the Words of the *Greeks* flowed only from their Lips, whilst Those of the *Romans* came from their Hearts.

When *Antiochus* had possessed himself of the Passes on the Mountains called *Thermopylae*, and to the natural Strength of the Place had added Intrenchments and Walls, he sat at rest there, believing himself secure from any Attack of the *Romans*, and that he had diverted the War another way; for the *Romans* Themselves despaired of being ever able to force those Passes: But *Cato* calling to mind (2) the Compass and Circuit the *Persians* had formerly taken to attack the *Greeks* in the same Place, began to march by Night with part of the Army.

As they were endeavouring to reach the Top of the Mountains, the Guide, who was a Prisoner, missed his Way, and wandering up and down thro' unpassable Places, full of Precipices, put the Soldiers into an unexpressible Dread and Despair. *Cato* perceiving the Danger, commanded the rest of the

(1) But this Opinion might be very ill grounded; for that long Train of Words made use of by the Person that interpreted *Cato's* Speech was more his own Fault, than That of the Language; and 'tis unjust to charge it upon a whole Nation,

(2) When *Leonidas* with a Handful of Men sustained the Charge of the whole *Persian* Army, in those narrow Passes, and maintained his Ground, 'till the

Barbarians fetching a Compass round the Mountains by secret By-ways fell upon him at once, and cut his Army to pieces, as may be seen in the ninth Book of *Strabo*. Here we see how advantageous it is to a Soldier to have read, and to know the History of Times past. There is no Profession or Science where this kind of Knowledge is more necessary and useful than That of War.

Army to halt and go no further; and taking with him one *Lucius Mallius*, a Man wonderfully dextrous at climbing the steepest Mountains, he marched forward with great Pains and Danger of his Life in a very dark Night, without the least Moonshine, clambering over wild Olive Trees, and steep craggy Rocks which stopp'd their View, and hindred 'em from seeing the Way before 'em.

At length, after a vast deal of Pains, they fell into a little Path, which seemed to lead 'em down to the Bottom of the Mountain where the Enemy lay encamped. There they set up Marks upon the most conspicuous Tops of the Mountains, and on the Edges of such as hung over (1) the Mountain *Callidromus*; and returning the same Way back to the Army, they led it with them by the Direction of the Marks they had left, 'till they got into the little Path again, where they halted and made a proper Disposition of their Troops. After they had gone a little further, the Path fail'd 'em all at once, and they saw before 'em a vast impassable Bog, which threw 'em into new Despair, and a greater Fear than before; for they did not know, nor cou'd perceive that they were any way nearer the Enemy.

The Day began now to appear, when some one among them thought he heard a Noise, and Men's Voices, and a little after, that he saw the *Grecian* Camp, and their advanced Guard at the Foot of the Rock. *Cato* therefore making an Halt, commanded the *Firmians* alone to come to him. These were the Troops of whose Courage and Fidelity he had made the greatest Proof on all hazardous

(1) The Mountain that commands the Streights of *Thermopyla* is called *Callidromus*. All the Mountains to the East of these Streights are comprehended under the Name of *Oeta*, and the highest of 'em all is called *Callidromus*, at the Foot of which is a Road sixty Foot broad. See *Livy*.

Occasions. When they were come, and stood round him in close Order, he spoke thus to 'em; *I want to take one of the Enemy alive, to know of him what these advanced Troops are, and how many in Number, and to be informed of the Disposition and Order of their whole Army, and what Preparation they have made to receive us; but to execute This, requires the Speed and Courage of Lions, who rush unarmed into the midst of a Flock of timorous Beasts.*

Cato had no sooner done speaking but the *Firmitans*, All just as they were, rush'd down the Mountain, ran violently upon the advanced Guard, surprized 'em unawares, put 'em in Disorder, dispersed 'em, took one armed Man, and brought him to Cato. This Prisoner informed him, that the main Body of the Army was encamp'd in the narrow Passages with the King, and that the Detachment that guarded the Heights was six hundred select *Ætolians*. Cato, despising those Troops, as well on Account of the Smallness of their Number, as their Carelessness and Want of Order, caused his Trumpets immediately to sound, and marched Sword in hand against 'em at the Head of his Detachment, with loud Shouts and Huzzas. The *Ætolians* perceiving 'em pouring down upon 'em from the Mountains, fled to their main Guard, where they occasioned great Trouble and Disorder. At the same time *Manius* with the main Body of the Army attack'd and forced *Antiochus's* Intrenchments below. In this Attack *Antiochus* was wounded in the Mouth by a Stone, and his Teeth beaten out, the excessive Pain of which forced him to turn his Horse, and retreat.

After his Retreat, no Part of his Army durst stand the Shock of the *Romans*, so that a general Rout ensued, and tho' there seem'd no Hopes of escaping by Flight, by reason of the Straitness of the Road, which had deep Marshes on the one Side, and rocky Precipices

Precipices on the Other, nevertheless they threw themselves in Crowds into those strait Passages, and destroyed one another, out of fear of being destroy'd by the *Romans*.

Cato, who was always free in his own Commendations, and thought Boasting a natural Attendant on great Actions, was not over-sparing on this Occasion ; for he sets off this last Exploit in very high Terms, saying, *That They who saw him fall upon the Enemy, rout and pursue 'em, confess'd that Cato owed less to the People of Rome, than the People of Rome did to Cato ; and that the Consul Manius Himself coming hot from the Fight, took him in his Arms as he came panting and sweating from the Battel, and embracing him a long time, cried out in a Transport of Joy, that neither He himself, nor all the People of Rome, wou'd ever be able fully to reward his Services.*

After the Battel, the Consul sent *Cato* to carry the News of his own Exploits to *Rome*. With a favourable Wind he sail'd to *Brundisium*, and in one day got from thence to *Tarentum* ; and having travelled four days more, on the fifth day in the Evening, reckoning from the time he landed, he arrived at *Rome*, and was the First that brought News of this great Victory. His Arrival filled the City with Joy and Sacrifices, and the People with an high Opinion of Themselves, from that very moment imagining that they were able to carry All before them both by Sea and Land, and to establish an universal Monarchy.

These are the greatest and most eminent of *Cato's* military Actions. As to his Conduct in Civil Affairs, he seems to have been of Opinion, (1) that

(1) This might be very well ; but the Liberty the *Romans* allowed every Body on this head, opened a Door to great Disorders, and occasioned terrible Inconven-

ences ; most Persons aiming at nothing more but to satisfy their particular Envy and Hatred ; neither was *Cato* himself entirely free from these Passions.

Nothing

Nothing more deserved the Zeal and Application of an honest Man, than to accuse and prosecute Transgressors, for He himself prosecuted Several, and aided and assisted Others in such Prosecutions, nay and abetted Accusations against some of the most considerable Citizens. Thus he set up *Petilius* against the great *Scipio*; but not being able to carry his Point, and reach his Life, by reason of the Greatness of his Family, and his own personal Courage, he gave over the Prosecution; but joining with other Accusers, he fell upon his Brother *Lucius Scipio*, and cast him in a great Sum, which was forfeited to the Publick; which being unable to pay, he was in danger of being cast into Prison; nor did he get quit of this Affair without a great deal of Difficulty, and by making his Appeal to the Tribunes.

To this purpose 'tis related, that a certain young Man having obtained a Sentence of Condemnation against an Enemy of his Father who was lately dead, and crossing the Market-place the same Day that Judgment was given, *Cato* met him, and taking him in his Arms, said to him, *These are the Offerings we should make to the Manes of our deceas'd Ancestors; we ought to sacrifice to 'em not the Blood of Goats and Lambs, but the Tears and Condemnation of their Enemies.*

However, he did not escape these sort of Attacks himself, during his Administration of Affairs; for whenever his Enemies got the least Hold of him, he was immediately call'd to an Account, and prosecuted to the utmost, so that he was never out of Danger; for 'tis said there were nigh fifty Impeachments brought against him, the Last of which happened when he was fourscore and six Years old; upon which occasion, he spoke this remarkable Saying, so often cited from him, *It was very*

The LIFE of

very hard that he should be brought to justify to Men of one Generation the Actions he had performed in Another, before They were born. But all his Contests did not end here, for four Years after, when he was fourscore and ten, he accused *Servilius Galba*; so that, like *Nestor*, he saw the fourth Generation, and, like Him, was always in Action. In short, after having constantly opposed the great *Scipio* in State-Affairs, he lived 'till the Time of young *Scipio*, his adopted Grand-son, and Son of *Paulus Æmilius*, who defeated King *Perseus* and the *Macedonians*.

Ten Years after his Consulship, *Cato* stood for the Office of *Censor*, which was the highest Post of Honour, and, as I may say, the very Crown and Perfection of all those Dignities to which the Ambition of a *Roman* Citizen cou'd aspire. For besides all the great Powers it contained, it gave him a Right to enquire into the Life and Manners of every particular Person. For the *Romans* were of Opinion (1) that no Man ought to be allowed the Liberty to marry, to get Children, to lead such or such kind of Life, to make Entertainments, or, in a word, to live any way according to his own Inclinations and Desires, without being liable to Inspection and Censure. Being therefore convinced that the Humours and Dispositions of Men are better discerned in the private Affairs of Life, than by such Actions as are of a publick and political Nature, they chose two Magistrates to be Guardians, Correctors, or Reformers of Manners, to hinder Men from quitting the Paths of Virtue, for those of Licentiousness and Pleasure, or by

(1) Nothing cou'd be more prudent than this Institution. The Liberty Men take of living according to their own Fancies and Appetites, ruins the greatest Part of

Mankind, and introduces into a State by degrees such a Corruption, as at last becomes universal and incurable.

changing received Usages and Customs to introduce novel and new-fangled Ways of living. One of these was taken out of the Patricians, and the Other from among the common People, and they were called *Censors*. They had a right to take from a *Roman* Knight his Horse of State, which was as much as removing him from that Order, and to expel out of the Senate any Senator that lived disorderly. They regulated the Expence of Sacrifices, took an Estimate of every Citizen's Estate, and kept a particular Account of the several Families, Qualities, and Conditions of Men in the Commonwealth.

This Office had several other great Prerogatives annexed to it; so that when *Cato* stood for it, the chief and most considerable Persons in the Senate opposed him. The Patricians did it out of Envy, imagining it wou'd be a Stain to their Nobility to suffer Men of obscure Birth to rise to the highest Honour and Power; and Others, conscious of their own ill Lives and corrupt Manners, opposed him out of Fear, dreading his inexorable Severity when in Power, and his Inflexibility in every thing that related to the discharge of his Office.

Having therefore consulted among themselves, they agreed to set up seven Candidates in opposition to *Cato*. These soothed the People with fair Hopes and Promises, as tho' they wanted such Magistrates as wou'd govern them gently, and serve their Pleasures.

Cato, on the contrary, without condescending to the least Flattery or Complaisance, but threatening from the Chair where he sat all wicked Men to their Face, and crying out aloud, that the City wanted great Reformation, press'd and conjured the People to chuse, if they were wise, not the mildest and gentlest, but severest and roughest Physicians; nor did he spare to tell 'em that he Himself was one of
 5 that

that Character, and such an one as they then stood in need of, and that among the Patricians, *Valerius Flaccus* was Another; and that he was the only Person with whose Assistance he could hope to render any considerable Service to the State, by cutting off and burning to the very Root, like an *Hydra*, that Voluptuousness and Luxury that had infected all the Parts of the Commonwealth. He added further, that all the Others strove by unworthy Means to obtain that Office, because they dreaded such as would govern with Justice, and faithfully discharge the Duties of their Place.

The Roman People, on this Occasion, shew'd themselves truly great, and worthy of great Leaders; for, far from dreading the Stiffness and Severity of this inflexible Man, they rejected all those smooth Flatterers, who seem'd inclin'd to govern only according to their Will and Pleasure, and unanimously chose *Valerius Flaccus* and *Cato*, list'ning to the latter not as a Man that stood for the Office of Censor, but as one in the actual Exercise of it, who, by vertue of his Authority, gave forth his Orders already.

The first Thing *Cato* did, was to name his Friend and Collegue *L. Valerius Flaccus* Chief of the Senate, and to remove from thence several Persons, and particularly *Lucius Quintius*, who had been Consul seven Years before, and, which was more Honour to him than his Consulship, was (1) Brother to *Titus Flaminius* who overthrew King *Philip*: Now the Occasion *Cato* took to expel him, was as follows.

(1) *Plutarch* calls these two Brothers, *Titus Quintius Flaminius*, and *L. Quintius Flaminius*, as may be seen in the Remarks on the Life of *Titus Flaminius*. whom *Polybius*, *Livy*, *Cicero*, and all the Historians call *Titus Quintius*.

Lucius Quintius kept a Youth in his House whom he had taken for his Beauty. This Youth was always near his Person, and all the Time he commanded the Army, had greater Power and Credit with him than any of his most intimate Friends and Acquaintance.

Now *Lucius* being appointed a Pro-consul, went to reside in his Province, and as he was one Day at an Entertainment where the Youth sat next to him as usual, He who could turn and wind him as he pleased, especially when he was in his Cups, began to flatter and caress him, and among other things said to him, *I love You with so much Passion, that tho' there was a Prize of Gladiators to be seen at Rome, which is a Sight I never saw in my Life, yet I would not stay to see it; and tho' I almost longed to see a Man kill'd, yet I made all possible haste to wait upon You.*

Lucius in return to such an obliging Compliment, replied, *Be not uneasy, I will soon cure that longing.* Ordering therefore forthwith one of Those condemned to die to be brought to the Feast, together with the Headsmen, and Ax, he ask'd his Paramour if now he desired to see that Sight? the Boy answering that he did, *Lucius* commanded the Executioner to cut off his Head. This is mentioned by several Historians, and *Cicero* in his Dialogue *de Senectute* brings in *Cato* expressing the same thing. *Livy* saith He that was killed was a Gaul, that had deserted, and that he was not dispatched by the Stroke of the publick Executioner, but by *Lucius* himself, and that all This is written in a Speech of *Cato's*.

Lucius being thus expelled the Senate, his Brother *Titus Flaminius*, unable to support such an Indignity, appealed to the People, requiring *Cato* to give his Reasons for fixing such a Stain upon his Family. Which when *Cato* was a doing, and setting forth the whole Transactions of that Feast,

Lucius

Lucius with his Hands lifted up denied the Fact; but *Cato* calling him to his Oath, (1) he refused to take it, from whence he was judged duly convicted, and punished as he deserved. But on a certain Day, when there were Shews at the Theater, *Lucius* passing by the Place where Those who had been Consuls used to sit, went on further, and sat down in an obscure Seat at a distance; at which the People who saw him took Pity on him, and making a great Noise, forced him to come back and take his Place among Those of Consular Dignity, by that means salving, and, as far as in them lay, making him amends for the Misfortune that had befallen him.

Cato likewise remov'd out of the Senate *Marcellus*, another Senator, who stood fair for the Consul; for that in open Day, and in the Presence of his Daughter, he had been a little too sweet upon his own Wife. *Cato* said on this Occasion, that His Wife never hugg'd him but in loud Claps of Thunder, adding by way of Rallery, *That he was never happy but when Jupiter thunder'd.*

What *Cato* did to *Lucius*, Brother to the great *Scipio*, who had been honoured with a Triumph for his Victory over King *Philip*, fixed upon him the Reproach of Envious and Ill-natured; for he took his Horse from him at a Review of the Roman Knights; and it appeared to every Body to have been done on purpose to insult the Memory of *Scipio Africanus*. But nothing was thought so insupportable, or gave so general a Disgust, as what he did towards reforming their Luxury. 'Twas impossible for him to carry his Point by attacking it directly, by reason the whole Body of the People

(1) Here we see even so corrupt a Man as *Lucius* refusing to take an Oath to clear himself of a Charge that loaded him with Infamy. This shows the great Respect the very Pagans had for an Oath.

was infected and corrupted; wherefore he took a round-about way, and did, as it were, lay Siege to it; for he caused all Apparel, Coaches, Women's Finery, Furniture and Household Goods to be rated, (1) and whatever exceeded fifteen hundred *Drachmas* to be valued at ten times its Worth, and imposed a Tax according to that Valuation. For every thousand Asses he caused Three to be paid; to the end that They who found themselves heavily pressed by this Tax, and saw other plain and frugal Persons, of as good or better Estates, pay less to the Publick than themselves, might be induced to amend of their own Accord, and give over so ruinous a Luxury. By this means he not only made Those his Enemies, who chose rather to bear the Tax than lay aside their Luxury, but Those also who laid by their Luxury to avoid the Tax. For the Generality of Mankind think that a Prohibition to shew their Riches is the same thing as taking them away; and that a Man's Wealth is better seen in Superfluities, than in the Necessaries of Life. And This, 'tis said, was what surprized *Aristo* the Philosopher; for he could not comprehend why they should account Them that possessed superfluous things happy, rather than Those who abounded in what was necessary and useful. But *Scopas*, the *Theffalian*, when a Friend asked him for something that could be of little use to him, and gave That for a Reason why he should grant his Request, made him this Reply, *Alas, my Friend, 'tis only in these useless and superfluous things that I think my self rich and happy.* Thus 'tis evident that this ardent Desire of Riches proceeds not from any natural Passion within us, but comes from without,

(1) This was a very heavy Imposition; and laid not only upon Household Goods and Cloaths, but likewise upon Slaves under twenty Years old, who, since the last Rate, had cost ten thousand Asses, he caus'd 'em to be rated at an hundred thousand. The Luxury of our Times wou'd make great Opposition to such a Method of Cure.

and (1) is imperceptibly instilled into us by Example, and the Spirit of Imitation.

All the Complaints and Outcries against *Cato* had no Effect at all upon him, unless to make him more stiff and rigid. He caused all the Pipes by which particular Persons conveyed the Water from publick Fountains to their Houses and Gardens, to be cut off; and demolished all such Buildings as jetted out into the Streets and publick Places. He very much beat down the Price of publick Works, and on the contrary raised excessively the Duties and Imposts on all things that were sold, whereby he brought upon himself the Hatred of vast Numbers of People: So that *Titus Flaminius*, and Those of his Party, exclaimed against him, and caused to be vacated in open Senate the Contracts he had made for repairing the Temples and publick Buildings, as detrimental to the Publick; and incited the most factious and boldest of the Tribunes to accuse him to the People, and fine him two Talents. They likewise very much opposed him in his Design of building a Palace at the publick Charge below the Senate-House; which however he finished, and called it *Porcia-Hall*.

But notwithstanding all the Contradiction and Opposition he met with, the People seem to have liked his Censorship extremely well; for they erected a Statue to him in the Temple of *Health*, putting an Inscription at the Bottom, not of his Batrels, Victories, or Triumph, but This that follows: *To the Honour of Cato the Censor, who by his good Discipline and Order reclaimed the Roman Commonwealth, when the publick Licentiousness had brought it into a declining and dangerous State.*

(1) Nothing is more certain; ample, and that Example is brought for Nature is content with what forth by a false Opinion; of which suffices her, and a Thirst after the Luxury of the present Times is Riches always proceeds from Ex- an evident Proof.

How-

However, before this Statue was erected in Honour of him, he used to laugh at Those who valu'd and sought after such Honours, saying, *that they were not aware that they gloried in the Workmanship of Founders, Statuaries, and Painters; and that as for his part, he only gloried in leaving a beautiful Image of Himself engraven in the Breasts of his Fellow-Citizens.* And to Such as expressed their Surprise, that so many obscure Persons, of no Merit at all, should have Statues, and He should have none, he used to say, *I had rather it should be asked, why no Statue has been erected to Cato, than why there has?* And to shew his Character fully in this respect, he would not allow that a good Citizen should admit of any Commendations, unless they turned to the Advantage of the Commonwealth, notwithstanding he was the most forward Man in the World to commend himself, insomuch that when some Citizens that had been guilty of Misdemeanours, were reprov'd for it, he used to say, *They are excusable, for they are not Catos.*

Concerning Such as attempted to imitate some of his Actions, but did it awkwardly, he used to say, *they were left-handed Catos.* He likewise boasted, *that in difficult and dangerous Times the Senate cast their Eyes upon him, just as Passengers in a Ship do upon the Pilate in a Storm; and that very often when he was not at the Senate, they would put off Affairs of the greatest Importance 'till He came.* Nor did He only say this of himself, but every Body else said the same thing, and gave this Testimony of him; for he had great Authority in Rome on account of his prudent and regular Life, his Eloquence, and his Age. He was a good Father, a good Husband, and an excellent Oeconomist, and did not think the care of his own Affairs, and Improvement of them, a mean or trifling Concern, that only deserved a slight and superficial Inspection: Wherefore I think

it will be of use to relate here what is known of him on that Head.

He married a Wife more noble than rich ; for tho' he well knew that both Riches and high Birth do equally incline People to Pride and Haughtiness, yet he thought Persons of noble Blood would be more ashamed of what was base and unworthy, and consequently more obedient to their Husbands in whatever was laudable and fitting. He often said, that they who beat their Wives, or Children, laid violent Hands on what was most sacred ; and that he preferred the Commendation of being a good Husband infinitely before That of being a great Senator. And what he admired most in *Socrates* was, that he always lived easily and kindly with an ill-tempered Wife and block-headed Children.

As soon as he had a Son, no Business, how urgent soever, unless it related to the Publick, could hinder him from being present when his Wife unsaddled and dressed the Child ; for she suckled it her self, nay, she often gave her Breast to her Servants Children, to beget in them a brotherly Love and natural Affection towards her Son, as having sucked the same Milk. When his Son began to arrive at Years of Discretion, *Cato* took him and taught him Himself, tho' he had a Slave whose Name was *Chilo*, a very honest Man, and good Grammarian, who had been intrusted with the Education of other Children : But he would not, as he said himself, have his Son reprimanded by a Slave, or pull'd, it may be, by the Ears for being tardy in his Lesson ; nor could he suffer that his Son should owe so great an Obligation to a Slave, as his Education ; wherefore he Himself undertook to be his Præceptor, and taught him his Grammar, Law, and Fencing ; for he not only taught him how to throw a Dart, to fight in Armour, and to ride, but even to play at Fifty-Cuffs ; to endure both Heat and Cold,

Cold, and to swim across the most rapid River. He relates himself, that he wrote Histories for him with his own Hand, in large Characters, that so, without stirring out of his Father's House, he might be acquainted with the Laws and Exploits of his Ancestors. He was as careful to avoid all kind of filthy and obscene Discourse before his Son, as if he had been in the Presence of those sacred Virgins called *Vestals*: Nor would he ever bathe with him, tho' That indeed seems to be according to the common Custom of the *Romans*; for even Sons-in-Law never bathed with their Fathers-in-Law, being ashamed to appear naked before them. 'Tis true, indeed, in process of time the *Greeks* taught them to strip without Ceremony, and bathe naked one with another; and They soon after taught the *Greeks* to do the same thing before the Women, and bathe naked with Them.

Thus *Cato* formed his Son betimes, and fashioned him to virtuous Inclinations; for he found him well-inclined, and apt to learn, from the Excellency of his Disposition: But his Body was too weak to undergo hard Labour, which obliged his Father to remit somewhat from the Strictness and Severity of his Discipline. This Weakness of Constitution did not, however, hinder him from being a valiant and brave Soldier, for he distinguished himself particularly in the Battel that *Paulus Emilius* fought against King *Perseus*, where, when his Sword was struck from him by a Blow, or rather slipped out of his Hand by the Moistness thereof, he was so enraged, that turning to some of his Companions to beg their Assistance in recovering it, he forthwith rush'd with them into the midst of the Enemy. There he laid about him so manfully, and behaved so well, that he cleared the Place where his Sword lay, and at length found it under Heaps of Arms and dead Bodies of Friends, as well as Enemies,

piled upon one another. *Paulus Emilius* the General highly applauded this Action of the young Man; and there is a Letter still shewn, written by *Cato* to his Son, in which he greatly commends his Concern at losing his Sword, and his Bravery in recovering it. This young Man afterwards married *Tertia*, Daughter to this *Paulus Emilius*, and Sister to young *Scipio*. The Honour of being allied to which noble Family was as much owing to his Own as his Father's Worth.

Such was *Cato's* Care in the Education of his Son, which fully answered his Expectations. He had several Slaves which he purchased from among the Captives taken in War, always chusing the youngest, and such as were most capable of receiving Instruction, like Whelps, or Colts, that may be train'd up and taught. None of these Slaves ever went into any other Man's House, except they were sent by *Cato*, or his Wife; and if any one of them was asked what *Cato* was doing, he always answered, *Nothing that he knew of*; for *Cato* liked to have his Servants always either employed in the House, or asleep; and he liked those best that often took a Nap, reckoning them more tractable and quiet, as well as more fit to perform their Business. And as he knew that the hankering after Women generally makes Servants idle and knavish, he allowed his Slaves, at certain times, to have free Conversation with his female Slaves, upon paying a certain Price; but under a strict Prohibition to meddle with no other Women.

At first, while he was poor, and serv'd in the Army only as a common Soldier, he never was angry, however he was used by his Servants; for he thought nothing more ridiculous and shameful than to scold and quarrel with them on the account of his Belly: But afterwards, when his Circumstances were grown better, and he gave frequent Entertainments

to his Friends and the principal Officers of the Army, he never failed, after Dinner, to correct with leathern Thongs such of them as had not given due Attendance, or had suffered any thing to be spoiled. He always contrived Means to make Quarrels among his Servants, and to keep them at Variance, ever suspecting and fearing a good Understanding among them. When any of them had committed a Crime that deserved Death, he punished them accordingly, if in the Opinion of their Fellow-Servants they were found guilty. But as his Thirst after Riches increased, he gave over Agriculture, which he found yielded more Amusement than Profit; and turning his Thoughts to things more sure and certain, he purchased Fish-ponds, Lands in which there were hot Baths, Grounds full of Fuller's Earth, Pastures and Wood-lands, whereby a great Revenue flowed into him, *such an one*, he used to say, *as Jupiter himself could not hurt.*

He was guilty of the most blamable kind of Usury, called *Ship-usury*; the manner of which was thus: He obliged Those to whom he lent Money to form themselves into a Company, for Example, of fifty Merchants, and to fit out fifty Ships, in which he had one Share, which *Quintion*, whom he had made a Freeman, sailing with them, took care of, as his Factor. All these Merchants were bound for the Money lent to them, every one for his particular Sum; besides which he had his Share in the Company, by which means he did not run the Risque of all his Money, but only of a small Part, and that with a Prospect of vast Advantage.

He lent Money likewise to such of his Slaves as had a mind to traffick, with which they bought young ones, who being instructed and brought up at *Cato's* Expence, were sold at the Year's End by Auction, several of which *Cato* took himself at the Price of the highest Bidder, which he deducted

out of the Money he had lent. To incline his Son to this sort of good Management he used to say, *That to diminish his paternal Estate was not like a wise Man, but a foolish Widow.* But what most of all shew'd his avaricious Temper, was, that he durst advance, *that He was a wonderful Man, nay Godlike, and worthy of immortal Glory, who made it appear by his Accounts, at his Death, that he left more behind him, than he had received from his Ancestors.*

When Cato was very far advanced in Years there arrived at Rome two Ambassadors from Athens, *Carneades* the *Academick*, and *Diogenes* the *Stoick*. They were sent by the *Athenians* with a Request to the Senate, to remit a Fine of fifty Talents that had been imposed on them, for Contumacy, by the *Sicyonians* at the Prosecution of the *Oropians*. Upon the Arrival of these Philosophers all the Youth that were the greatest Lovers of Letters, and most studious, went to wait on them, and heard them with inexpressible Pleasure and Admiration. But above all they were charmed with the Gracefulness of *Carneades's* Oratory, the Force of whose Eloquence was inexpressibly great, nor was his Fame and Reputation less; for having happily had the greatest and best-natured Persons in Rome for his Auditors, he made at first so great a Noise, that, like a mighty Wind, the whole City was filled with the Sound of it. It was every where said that a surprizing Greek was arrived, who surpassed Mankind in Knowledge; who calming and softening the most outrageous Passions by his Eloquence, inspired the Roman Youth with such a love of Wisdom and Learning, that renouncing all other Business and Diversions, they ran, as it were, enthusiastically mad after Philosophy.

All the Romans were highly pleased on this account, nor could they without the utmost Delight behold their Youth thus fondly receive the Grecian

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Literature, and frequent the Company of these wonderful Men : But *Cato*, from the beginning, as soon as ever he perceived this love of the *Grecian* Learning prevailed in the City, was highly displeased, fearing lest all the Youth should turn their Emulation and Ambition that way, and prefer the Glory of Speaking to that of Doing well, and distinguishing themselves in Arms : But when he found that the Reputation of these Philosophers was universally spread abroad, and that their first Discourses were in every Body's Hands, (1) having been turned into *Latin* by *Caius Acilius*, one of the chief Persons in the Senate, who was both charm'd with them Himself, and had been likewise desired to translate them, he was no longer able to contain himself, but resolv'd to dismiss these Philosophers, under some specious Pretence for Decency's sake, and oblige them to leave the City with all Speed.

When he was therefore come to the Senate, he complained to the Magistrates for detaining so long, without any Dispatch, such Ambassadors as those, who could easily persuade the People to whatever they pleased. *You ought*, said he, *with all Speed to consider of their Affair, and determine what is just and right, that so they may return to their Schools, and instruct the Grecian Children as much as they please,*

(1) Here we see the Discourses of these Philosophers translated by one of the chief Senators, at the Desire of the *Romans* themselves; which is an Honour to the Person that translated them, as well as to the City that desired it. Long after *Cato's* time, when *Pompey* overcame *Mithridates*, he found in that Prince's strong Box some Treatises of *Hippocrates*, and several Recipes written with his own

Hand, with their Use and Virtues, which he caused to be translated and presented to the Publick; for which the Senate returned him Thanks, as for a Present that was judged no less useful to the Lives of the Citizens, than his Victory had been to the Commonwealth. This is a great Authority for these Translations; and yet it may be said that they were not so necessary then, as they are now.

and

and (1) that the Roman Youth may listen only to their own Laws and Magistrates, as they did before their Arrival. This he said, not out of any particular Enmity to *Carneades*, as Some have thought, but (2) because he was an Enemy to Philosophy, and took a Pride in despising the *Grecian Muses*, and all foreign Erudition. For he used to call *Socrates* himself a great Prater, and a violent seditious Fellow, that had endeavoured, as much as lay in his Power, to tyrannize over his Country, (3) by abrogating their ancient Customs, and hurrying his Fellow-Citizens into novel Opinions contrary to the Laws. And to make a Jest of the long time *Socrates* took in teaching his Disciples, he used to say, that his Scholars grew old in learning their Art, in order to use it, and plead Causes in the next World. And to dissuade his Son from applying himself to any of those Arts, he pronounced in a louder Tone than his Age allowed, like a Man inspired, and filled with a prophetick Spirit, that the Romans would certainly be destroyed when once they became infected with Greek. But Time has sufficiently shewn the Vanity of this wayward Prediction; for *Rome* never attained to a higher pitch of Glory and Power than when the *Grecian Literature* flourished there, and all kind of Learning was esteemed.

Nor was *Cato* a sworn Enemy to the *Grecian Philosophers* only, but to the Physicians also; for having heard of *Hippocrates's* Answer to the King of

(1) Pitiful Prejudice! No Persons obey Laws and Magistrates better than such as are guided by the Precepts of Philosophy, and herein there are no better Masters than *Socrates* and *Plato*.

(2) This appeared plainly from his Manners and Avarice; but even this Avarice and these very Manners shewed how much he stood

in need of it. Nothing is more to the Honour of Philosophy than the unhappy Condition of Such as condemn and banish it.

(3) But if those ancient Customs were hurtful, and these novel Opinions right and just, must the former be obstinately preserv'd, and the latter, tho' useful and advantageous, be rejected?

Persia,

Perſia, who when he was ſent for to cure him of a grievous Diſtemper, and had the Offer of many Talents for his Pains, ſaid, *I will never make uſe of my Skill in favour of Barbarians who are Enemies to the Greeks*; He maintained that this was become a common Oath to be taken by all Phyſicians, and enjoin'd his Son never to truſt himſelf in their Hands. He added, that he himſelf had written a little Treatiſe wherein (1) were ſeveral Preſcriptions, which he had uſed with good Succeſs when any of his Family were ſick; that he never enjoined Faſting to any one, which Phyſicians often preſcribe, but always allowed himſelf and all his Domeſticks Herbs, with the Fleſh of a Duck, Pigeon, or Levret; ſuch kind of Diet being the beſt, lighteſt, and eaſieſt of Diſteſtion for weak and ſick Perſons, only that it made them dream in the Night. In ſhort, he aſſured them, that by the Aſſiſtance of theſe Remedies only, together with his Regimen, he preſerved himſelf, and All that belonged to him, in perfect Health. However for this his preſumptuous Bragging he ſeemed not to eſcape unrevenge'd; (2) for he loſt both his Wife and Son, tho' he himſelf, being of a ſtrong robuſt Conſtitution, held out longer; ſo that he would often, even in his old Age, make uſe of Women, nay when he was paſt a Lover's Age he married a young Woman, and that upon this Pretence.

After the Death of his Wife he married his Son to *Paulus Emilius's* Daughter, who was Siſter to

(1) In his Treatiſe of Country Affairs, he gives ſeveral particular Remedies to purge both by Stool and Urine: Nay, he goes ſo far as to give ſome for Strains, and ſhews the Manner how to reduce diſlocated Parts, and adds particular Forms of Words to be uſed as Charms.

(2) *Plutarch* gives uſto underſtand here, that he doubted whether *Cato's* pretended Skill in Phyſick had not been fatal to his Wife and Son; and it ſeems very probable. Whoever reads his Books may juſtly wonder that his fine Method and Medicines had not deſtroy'd his whole Family.

young

young *Scipio*, and himself continued a Widower, but made use of a young Slave, who came privately to him; but this Intreague could not remain long a Secret in a small House, with a Daughter-in-Law in it: Wherefore, one Day, as the favourite Slave was passing with something of an haughty Air to *Cato's* Bed-chamber, his Son, without saying a Word to her, gave her an angry Look, and then turned from her as with Indignation. The old Man being informed of this Circumstance, and finding that this sort of Commerce was by no means agreeable either to his Son, or his Wife, without taking the least notice of what had pass'd, or expostulating the Matter with them, went early the next Morning, according to Custom, with his usual Company to the *Forum*, and calling aloud to one *Salonius*, who had been his Secretary, and then attended him, asked him if his Daughter was married; and when he reply'd, *that she was not yet married, and that she never should be without his Consent*; *Cato* told him, *Why then I have found out a very fit Match for her, provided she can bear with the Inequality of Age, for he has no other Objection*: When *Salonius* said, *that he left the Disposal of her entirely to Him, for that she was his Client, under his immediate Protection, and had nothing to depend upon but from His Bounty*; *Cato*, without any farther Ceremony, answered, *I will be thy Son-in-Law*. The Man was at first surpris'd at the Proposition, as may easily be imagined, and knew not how to take it; for on the one hand he considered *Cato* as a Man past the Age of marrying, and on the Other he could not but look on his Daughter as a Match infinitely beneath a Person of Consular Dignity, and One who had triumphed. However, when he found *Cato* was in good earnest, he embraced the Offer with great Joy and Thankfulness; and the Marriage Contract was signed as soon as they came to the *Forum*.

Whilst

Whilst they were busy in preparing every thing for the solemnizing of the Nuptials, *Cato's* Son, taking some of his Friends and Relations with him, went to his Father, and ask'd him, for what Offence, by Him committed, was he going to put a Mother-in-law upon him? *Cato* immediately took him up, and told him roundly, *Soft and Fair, good Son. I find nothing to complain of in all thy Behaviour, nor art thou to wonder if I am desirous of having more such Sons, and willing to leave more such Citizens to my Country. But Pisistratus, Tyrant of Athens, is said to have return'd such an Answer long before Cato, when, after he had had several Children, who were Men grown, by the first Venter, he took a second Wife, who was Timonassa of Argos, by whom he is said likewise to have had two Sons, Jophon and Theffalus.*

Cato had a Son by this second Wife, whom he call'd *Salonius* from his Mother's Father. As for his eldest Son *Cato*, He died in his Prætorship. His Father makes frequent mention of him in his Works, as of a Person of extraordinary Merit. He bore this Loss with the Temper of a Philosopher, without suffering it to interrupt him one Moment in his Application to the Affairs of State. He did not, like *Lucius Lucullus*, and *Metellus Pius*, grow remiss in his Care of the Publick as he grew in Years, but look'd upon That as a Duty that was to continue upon him as long as he lived; nor did he follow the Example of *Scipio Africanus*, who, because the Envy and Ill-will of his Fellow-Citizens deny'd him the Honours due to his extraordinary Services, refus'd to serve his Country any longer, and spent the Remainder of his Life in Retirement and Inaction. But as one told *Dionysius*, that the most honourable Tomb he could have would be to die doing his Duty as a Governor, so *Cato* thought Old Age to be the best employ'd

employ'd in serving the Publick; only at some leisure Hours he would divert himself with Husbandry, and Writing; to which we owe the (1) many Works, some of them Histories, which he has left behind him.

In his younger Days he apply'd himself to Agriculture for the Profit sake; for he us'd to say, he had but two Ways of increasing his Income, which were *Husbandry* and *Parfimony*; but as he grew old he regarded it only as an innocent Amusement, and diverting Occupation. He wrote a Book (2) concerning Country Affairs, in which he treats particularly of making Cakes, and preserving Fruit all the Year round; being very desirous to be thought curious, and singular in every thing. He kept a better Table in the Country than at *Rome*, for he always invited some of his Friends in the Neighbourhood to sup with him, and wou'd be diverting Company, not only to Such as were of the same Age with himself, but to the younger Sort; for he had a thorough Knowledge of the World, and had either seen himself, or receiv'd from Others, many curious Things that were well worth the hearing. He thought the Table the properest Place for the forming of Friendships, and at His the Conversation generally turn'd upon the Com-

(1) The Ancients quote many of *Cato's* Writings; for besides more than an Hundred and Fifty Orations that he left behind him, he wrote a Treatise of *Military Discipline*, Books of Antiquities, wherein he treats of the Foundation of the Cities of *Italy*; but of These there were only two Books relating to that Matter, the other Five contain'd, properly speaking, the History of the *Romans*, particularly a Narrative of the first and second *Punic* War.

(2) This is the only Work that remains to us entire of that great Man; the rest is no better than Fragments. In that Book he shews how to make several different sorts of Cakes, and the manner of preserving Fruits. There is no Part of rural Oeconomy which he does not treat of; even to the fattening of Geese, Poultry, and Pigeons; and handles it all in a short, close, exact, but very pertinent Style.

mendation

commendation of brave and worthy Men, without any Aspersions cast upon Those who were otherwise, for he would not allow in his Company to have one Word, either good or bad, said of such kind of Men.

The last Service he did the Publick, was the Demolishing of *Carthage*. *Scipio* indeed put the finishing Stroke to that Work, but it was undertaken by the Counsel and Advice of *Cato*, who may be said to have been the Author of the Third and last *Punick War*, and it was upon this Occasion. *Massinissa*, King of *Numidia*, and the *Carthaginians* being at War with each other, *Cato* was sent into *Africa* to inquire into the Cause of the Quarrel. *Massinissa* was, and had been of old, a Friend and Ally to the *Romans*, and the *Carthaginians* had likewise been in Alliance with them ever since the great Overthrow they had receiv'd from the elder *Scipio*, (1) who stript them of a great part of their Dominions, and impos'd a heavy Tribute upon them. When *Cato* arriv'd at *Carthage*, he found the City not in that low Condition the *Romans* thought her, drein'd of her Men and Mony, humble and dispirited; but on the contrary, he found her flourishing in a hopeful Youth, abounding in Wealth, furnished with prodigious warlike Stores of all sorts, and Spirited up with such a Confidence in her own Strength and Abilities, as to be perswaded that there was nothing so great and extraordinary to which her Hopes and Ambition might not aspire. He soon perceived that it would be loss of Time to the *Romans* to endeavour to adjust the Matters in dispute between the *Carthagi-*

(1) He obliged them to deliver up their Fleet, yield to *Massinissa* part of *Syphax's* Dominions, and pay the *Romans* ten thousand Talents. This Peace, which put an

End to the second *Punick War*, was made in the third Year of the hundred and forty fourth *Olympiad*; two hundred Years before the Birth of our Saviour.

nians and Numidians; but that if they did not without Delay make themselves Masters of that City, which was their ancient Enemy, and retained strong Resentments of the Usage she had received from them, and which had in a short Space of Time not only recovered her self after all her Losses and Sufferings, but was prodigiously increased in Wealth and Power, they would unavoidably be plunged again into their former Dangers and Difficulties. With these Thoughts and Reflections he returned in all haste to Rome, where he told the Senate, *that all the Misfortunes that had befallen the Carthaginians had not so much drained them of their Forces, as cured them of their Folly; that in all their former Wars with them the Romans had not weakened them, but rendred them more warlike, and experienced. That their Conflicts with the Numidians were no other than Essays, or Exercises, by which they were trained up, and inured, that they might be the better able one Day to cope with the Romans; that the late Peace was so only in Name, with respect to Them; it was no better than a Suspension of Arms, and a sort of breathing-time, which serv'd to refresh and hearten them up against another Opportunity.* It is said that at the Conclusion of his Speech he purposely dropp'd in the Senate-house some Figs he had brought out of *Africa*, and when he found they were admired by the Senators for their Beauty and Largeness, he told them, *that the Country where that fine Fruit grew was but three Days Sail from Rome.* It is farther said of him, that he never gave his Opinion in the House upon any other Point whatever, but the constant Burden in the Conclusion was, *My Opinion is, that Carthage should be demolish'd.* Scipia, surnam'd *Nasica*, maintained the contrary, and ended all his Speeches with, *My Opinion is, that Carthage should be left standing.* It is very likely that this great Man perceiving the People were arrived

rived to that pitch of Insolence as inclined them to run into any sort of Excess; and that being puffed up with Success, and ready to burst with Pride, they were no longer to be restrained by any Reverence to the Senate, but were grown so absolute as to be able to drag the City which way they pleas'd, he thought it prudent to keep *Carthage* as a Terror over them, thereby to moderate and restrain their Presumption. For he knew the *Carthaginians* were too weak to subdue the *Romans*, and the *Romans* not in a Condition to despise the *Carthaginians*. On the other hand, it seem'd a dangerous thing to *Cato*, that a City which had been always great, and was now grown sober and wise, from her former Calamities, should still lye, as it were upon a Catch with the *Romans*, who were now become wanton and giddy by reason of their great Power; so that he thought it the wisest Course to have all outward Dangers removed, at a time when through their Depravity and Corruption they had so Many hanging over their Heads at home.

Thus *Cato*, they say, stirred up the Third and Last War against the *Carthaginians*; but no sooner was it begun but He (1) died, prophesying of the Person that should put an End to it. He was then but a young Man, but having a Command in the Army, he had in the Beginning of this War given great Proofs of his Courage and Conduct. When the News of his first Exploits was brought to *Rome* *Cato* cry'd out,

(2) *He only breathes couragiously,
Whilst Others like swift Shadows fly.*

This

(1) He died in the first, or second Year of this War, so that consequently if he was born the last Year of the hundred and thirty sixth Olympiad, he was but four-score and two or three Years of

Age, in the second Year of the hundred and fifty seventh Olympiad, in which Year he died.

(2) This Verse is in the tenth Book of *Homer's Odyssey*, where *Circe* advises *Ulysses* to go down

The Comparison of

This Prophecy *Scipio* soon confirmed by his Actions.

Cato left one Son by his second Wife, who, as we observ'd before, was called *Salonius*, and a Grandson by his Son of the first Venter, who dy'd before him. *Cato Salonius* dy'd in his Prætorship, and left behind him a Son called *Marcus*, who was afterwards Consul, and (1) Grandfather of that *Cato* the Philosopher, who for Virtue and Renown was One of the most eminent Men of his Time.



The Comparison of Aristides with *Cato*.

HAVING mentioned the most memorable Actions of these great Men, if the whole Life of This be compared with that of the Other, it will not be easy to discern the Difference between Them, being involved under so many like Circumstances, by which They resemble each Other: But if we examine the several Parts of their Lives, as we consider a piece of Poetry, or some Picture, we shall find This common to them Both, that They advanced Themselves to great Honour and Dignity in the Commonwealth, by no other Means than their own Virtue and Industry. It is true,

to *Elysium*, and consult the Soul of *Tiresias*, who, saith she, is the only one of Sense among them; the rest are no better than Shadows,

(1) This must be understood of *Cato Salonius*, and not of his Son *Marcus*, for *Cato of Utica* was the Son of *Marcus*, and consequently

the Grandson of *Salonius*. The Pedigree stands thus,

Cato the Censor.

|
Cato Salonius.

|
Marcus Cato the Consul.

|
Cato of *Utica*.

when

when (1) *Aristides* appeared, *Athens* was not in its Grandeur and Plenty; the chief Magistrates and Officers of his time being Men only of moderate and equal Fortunes among themselves: The Estimate of the greatest Estates then was five hundred *Medimni*; the Second of Knights, three hundred; the Third and Last, called *Zeugitæ*, two hundred. But *Cato*, out of a petty Village from a Country Life, launch'd into the Commonwealth, as it were into a vast Ocean, at a time when there were no such Governors as the *Curii*, *Fabricii*, and *Hostilii*; poor labouring Men were not then advanced from the Plough and Spade to be Governors and Magistrates; but greatness of Families, Riches, profuse Gifts, large Distributions among the People, and courting their Favour, were the only things regarded by the *Romans*, elated with the Strength of their Commonwealth; and who loved to humble Those who stood Candidates for any Preferment. It was a very different Case to have such an one as *Themistocles* for an Adversary, a Person of mean Extraction and small Fortune, (for he was not worth, as 'tis said, above Three, or Five Talents at the most, when he first applied himself to publick Affairs) and to contest with *Scipio Africanus*, *Servilius Galba* and *Quintius Flaminius*, without any other Assistance, or Support, but a Tongue accustomed to a Freedom of Speech, and to assert That which was Right. Besides, *Aristides* at *Marathon*, and again at *Platea*, was (2) in degree no better than a tenth

(1) This is the first Advantage *Cato* has over *Aristides*: It was not so difficult for Him to raise himself in a Commonwealth, where he could meet with no Rivals of any Sufficiency to oppose him, and who had the Start of him in nothing; whereas it was quite other-

wise with *Cato*, who had some of the most considerable Persons in the State for his Competitors.

(2) This is the second Advantage in Favour of *Cato*. When the *Athenians* made choice of *Aristides* for General they joined him in Commission with Nine more,

The Comparison of

a tenth Commander; whereas *Cato* was chosen one of the two Consuls when he had many Competitors, and was preferred before seven most Noble and Eminent Pretenders to be one of the two Censors. Besides, (1) *Aristides* was never Principal in any Action, for *Miltiades* carried the Day at *Marathon*; at *Salamis*, *Themistocles*; and at *Platea*, *Herodotus* tells us, *Pausanias* got the Glory of that important Victory; nay farther, *Sophanes*, *Aminias*, *Calimachus*, and *Cynægryrus*, behaved themselves so well in all those Engagements, that they contended with *Aristides* even for the second place.

Now *Cato* was esteemed as Chief for Courage and Conduct, not only in the *Spanish* War when he was Consul; but even whilst he was only Colonel at *Thermopylae*, and under another's Command, he gained the Glory of the Victory; for He as it were open'd a large Gate for the *Romans* to rush in upon *Antiochus*, and brought the War on the back of One who minded only what was before him: For that Victory, which was beyond dispute all *Cato's* own work, cleared *Greece* of *Asia*, and by that means made way thither afterwards for *Scipio*. Both of them indeed were always victorious in War; but at home *Aristides* (2) was defeated, being banished and

more, who All took the Rank of him; whereas the *Romans* created *Cato* Consul, and afterwards Censor, tho' by the Nature of those Offices he was to have but one Collegue in either of them. So that it looks as if the *Romans* put a greater Confidence in *Cato* than the *Athenians* did in *Aristides*, tho' That might as much be owing to the different Constitutions of the two Governments, as to any political Considerations.

(1) The third Advantage was, that *Aristides* had Rivals who di-

sputed with him for the Honour in his Victories; whereas *Cato* had the principal Share in all His, not only where he commanded as General, but even when he was no better than a Tribune of the Soldiers.

(2) A fourth Advantage was, that *Aristides* could not maintain his Ground against *Themistocles*, who procured him to be banish'd; whereas *Cato* made His good against the greatest and most powerful Men in *Rome*; and That by dint of Eloquence only.

oppressed

oppressed by the Faction of *Themistocles*; whilst *Cato*, notwithstanding he had almost all the Chief and most Powerful of *Rome* his Adversaries, who did not leave off contending with him even in his old Age, yet like a skilful Wrestler he still kept his footing; engaged also in many publick Suits, sometimes Plaintiff, sometimes Defendant, he cast the most, and came off clear, without any thing to defend him but his Eloquence, that Bulwark and powerful Instrument of Life, to which more truly, than to Chance or Fortune, the sustaining his Dignity to the last ought to be ascribed. For *Antipater* writing of *Aristotle* the Philosopher, after his Death, among the other great Qualities that Philosopher was possessed of, takes particular notice of This, that he was endowed with a Faculty of persuading People which way he pleased. Political Virtue, or the Art of governing Cities and Kingdoms, is undoubtedly the greatest Perfection that the Nature of Man can acquire; and 'tis generally agreed, that (1) Oeconomy, or the Art of governing a Family, is no small part of this Virtue; for a City, which is a Collection of private Families, cannot be in a strong and healthful Condition, unless the Families of which it is composed be strong and healthful too. And *Lycurgus*, when he prohibited the use of Gold and Silver in *Sparta*, and gave the Citizens Money made of Iron, that had been spoiled by the Fire, did not design to discharge them from minding their Household Affairs, but only to prevent Luxury (which is as it were a Tumour and Inflammation caused by Riches) that every one might

(1) This is not to be doubted. Riches being a most effectual means to contribute either to the Safety or Ruin of a State, That Art which teacheth how to govern, or dispose them, which is called Oeconomy, is without Con-

tradiction a Branch of Politicks, and a very material one too; since it is no easy matter to know how to preserve a Medium in a State, so as not to dispirit it by too much Poverty, or fling it into a Fever by too great an Opulence.

The Comparison of

have the greater Plenty of the Necessaries of Life : by this Establishment of his it appears, that he saw farther than any other Legislator, and that he was sensible any Society had more to fear from the poor and necessitous part of it, than from Those that were rich and haughty; and therefore (1) *Cato* was no less solicitous in the Management of Domestick Concerns, than in the Government of publick Affairs; for he increased his Estate, and became an Example to Others in Oeconomy and Husbandry; concerning which he collected in his Writings many useful things; whereas *Aristides* by his Poverty made Justice odious, as if it were the Pest and Impoverisher of a Family, and beneficial to All, but Those that were endowed with it; yet *Hesiod* said many things to exhort us both to publick Justice, and a care of our own private Concerns, and inveighs against Idleness as the Origine of Injustice; and *Homer* excellently sung,

————— Ἔργον δ' ἐ μοι ἔ φίλον ἦεν
 'Οὐδ' οἰκωφελίη, ἥ τε τρέφει ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,
 Ἀλλὰ μοι αἰεὶ νῆες ὑπῆρετ μοι φίλαι ἦσαν,
 Καὶ πόλεμοι, καὶ ἀκοντὲς ἐϋξέσοι, καὶ οἷσοι.

————— *I lov'd not Work,
 Nor House Affairs, or breeding up fine Boys;
 But well-rig'd Ships were always my delight
 And Wars, keen Darts and Arrows —*

(2) As if Those were alike that carelessly imbezled their own Estates, and Those who liv'd by Rapine; for

(1) One would think at first sight that *Plutarch* was here giving *Cato* the Preference, because he improved his Estate, and *Aristides* dy'd in an indigent Condition; but it appears from what follows, that the Poverty of *Aristides* was more honourable than the Wealth of *Cato*; for *Cato* did not acquire his Wealth by the fairest and most honourable means; for Avarice and Usury had too large a Share in it; and *Aristides*'s Poverty was not owing to the Indolence or Idleness of his Temper, but to the Greatness of his Soul.

(2) It seldom happens but after a Man has play'd the Spend-thrift, and

for it is not as the Physicians say of Oil, that outwardly apply'd it is very wholesome, but taken inwardly very destructive; as if a just Man must be careful for Others and careless for himself and Family: (1) But in this *Aristides's* Politicks seem'd to be defective; for (as Most say) he took no care to leave his Daughters a Portion, or Himself enough to defray his Funeral Charges: Whereas *Cato's* Family produced Senators and Generals to the fourth Generation; for his Grand-children and their Children came to the highest Preferments: But *Aristides*, who was the principal Man of Greece, through extream Poverty reduced some of his to get their living by shewing Juglers-tricks; Others, to hold out their Hands for publick Alms; leaving none of his Descendants means to perform any noble Action, or worthy his Dignity. But why must this needs follow? for Poverty is dishonourable not in it self, but when it is a sign of Laziness, Intemperance, Luxury and Carelessness; yet in a Person that is Temperate, Industrious, Just and Valiant, employ'd in publick Affairs, furnish'd with all manner of Virtues, it shews a great and lofty Mind; for He is unfit for great matters, who concerns himself with petty ones; nor can He relieve the many Needy, who himself needs many Things: (2) But the great Qualification for serving the Publick is not Wealth, but an honest Self-sufficiency,

and beggar'd himself either thro' Idleness or Debauch, he has recourse to Violence, or Injustice to supply his Wants. Few Men have Virtue sufficient to carry them thro' the Temptations of Necessity.

(1) So far were they from being defective, that they were great and noble, as we shall learn from *Plutarch* himself by and by.

(2) All that *Plutarch* advances

here is undeniable, but it is what we shall hardly persuade People now-a-days to put in Practice, where all are possess'd with a Thirst after Riches. And yet we have had Some among us, who, like *Aristides*, have shewn a generous Contempt of Wealth, and have had the Honour to die poor, after having serv'd their Country in the highest Posts with Capacity Justice, and Integrity.

which requiring no Superfluity at home, leaves the Man at full liberty to serve the Commonwealth. God is entirely exempt from all want, (1) and in the proportion that the virtuous Man lessens his Wants, he approaches nearer to the Perfection of the divine Being. For as a Body well built for health, requires nothing exquisite, either in Cloaths or Food; so a Man and a sound House, keep themselves up with a small matter. Now Riches ought to be proportioned to the use we have of them; for He that scrapes together a great deal, making use of but little, is not the better for his Riches; for if he does not want what they would procure, he has no occasion for them; if he has Occasion for them, and yet out of Sordidness is restrained from enjoying them, he is miserable. I would fain know of *Cato* Himself, if we therefore seek Riches, because we desire to enjoy them, why does he value himself upon having Much, when a little would answer his Occasions? But if it be noble, as it is, to feed on coarse Bread, and to drink the same Wine with our Hinds, and not to covet Purple and *Plaster'd Houses*, neither *Aristides*, nor *Epaminondas*, nor *Manius Curius*, nor *Caius Fabricius* were wanting in their Duty, altho' they would not take Pains to get what they did not want; and therefore it must have been weakness in such a Man as *Cato*, who esteem'd Turnips a most delicate Food, and who boil'd them himself while his Wife bak'd the Bread, to brag so often as he does of his Money, and to write how a Man may soonest grow rich; for certainly it is a better Proof of a great Mind to be contented with a little, because this at once cuts off the desire and care of Superfluities: Therefore they say *Aristides* thus delivered himself in *Callias's* Case; It is for them to blush at Poverty, who are poor against their

(1) This is a golden Saying. They are our Wants only that render us weak, infirm, Dependants, and Slaves.

Wills, they, who like him are willingly so, may glory in it; for it is ridiculous to think *Aristides's* Neediness imputable to his Sloth, who might handsomely enough by the spoil of one *Barbarian*, or seizing one Tent, have become wealthy: But enough of this.

As to the difference between them in their war-like Expeditions, *Cato's* added no great matter to the *Roman* Empire, which already was so great, as in a manner it could receive no addition; (1) but Those of *Aristides* are the noblest, most splendid and chief Actions in which the *Greeks* were concerned, viz. the Battels at *Marathon*, *Salamis*, and *Platea*. Nor indeed is the defeat of *Antiochus*, nor the Walls of the *Spanish* Towns demolished at the cost of innumerable Legions both by Land and Sea, (2) to be compared with so many thousands of *Barbarians* destroyed both by Sea and Land in the War with *Xerxes*; in all which noble Exploits *Aristides* yielded to None: (3) But he left the Glory, the Laurels, the Wealth and Money to Those who needed and thirsted more greedily after them: For He was above all those things. I don't blame *Cato* for perpetually boasting and preferring himself before all Others, though in one of his Orations he says, *It's equally absurd to praise and dispraise ones self*; but in my Opinion He is more perfectly virtuous who doth not so much as desire the Praises of others, than He

(1) So that *Aristides* is as much to be prefer'd to *Cato*, with respect to his military Exploits, as he is on Account of his Magnanimity, and Contempt of Riches,

(2) He here gives the Reason for that Preference. *Xerxes* was an Enemy much more terrible to *Greece* than *Antiochus* could be to *Italy*; and there is no Comparison between the four hundred Towns or Villages rased in *Spain*, and

the Millions of *Barbarians* destroyed both by Sea and Land.

(3) This Turn in *Plutarch* is very fine. To resign the Glory and Benefit of Victory to his Collegues has something in it more glorious than Victory itself. A Generosity like This can proceed only from a Mind fraught with Riches infinitely more exalted and durable than Those he so easily relinquish'd,

who

The Comparison of

who is always extolling Himself; for Modesty does not a little contribute to that mildness and sweetness of Temper which makes a Governor agreeable, whereas Pride makes Persons ill-natured and difficult of Access, and is a great Fomenter of Envy, from which *Aristides* was exempt, but *Cato* very subject to it. For (1) *Aristides* by assisting his Enemy *Themistocles* in Matters of highest Importance, and acting as it were the part of an Officer under him, raised the Reputation of *Athens*; whereas *Cato*, by opposing *Scipio*, almost broke and defeated his Expedition against the *Carthaginians*, in which he overthrew *Hannibal*, who 'till then was even invincible; and at last, by raising always some Suspensions and Calumnies or other of him, he chas'd him from the City, and basely condemn'd his Brother for robbing the State. Finally, that Temperance which *Cato* always highly cry'd up, (2) *Aristides* preserv'd truly pure and untainted: But *Cato's* Marriage, unbecoming his Dignity and Age, drew upon him no slight or improbable Suspicion of his wanting this Virtue; for it was not at all decent for him at that Age to bring home to his Son and his Wife, a young Woman, the Daughter of an Apparitor, and one that work'd publicly for Wages: But whether he did this out of Lust or Anger to be revenged of his Son for his Harlot's sake, both the Fact and the Pretence were unhandsome; for the Reason he pretended to his Son was false; for if he desired to get more worthy Children, he ought

(1) Here *Aristides* has much the Advantage of *Cato* in the Comparison. *Aristides* voluntarily assisted his capital Enemy, because in so doing he serv'd and assisted his Country; whereas *Cato* out of Pike to, and by endeavouring to ruin his Enemy, had like to have been the Ruin of *Rome* itself, than

which nothing can be a greater Blot in the Character of an honest Statesman.

(2) This is the last Advantage *Aristides* has over *Cato*, his Temperance or Continency, which is a watchful and incorruptible Guard to all the Virtues,

to have married some Person of Quality, and One well look'd on from the beginning ; and not to have delay'd it 'till his criminal Conversation with a Woman of ill Fame came to be discovered ; and when it was discover'd, he ought to have married into a Family, whose Affinity would have been of credit to him, and not have chosen Him for his Father-in-law, where the Alliance could not be more honourable to the One than it was dishonourable to the Other.





THE
L I F E
O F
PHILOPOEMEN.



Assander was a Man of great Quality and Power in the City of *Mantinae*, but by the revolution of Fortune happened to be driven from thence. There being an intimate friendship betwixt Him and *Crausis*, the Father of *Philopæmen*, who was a Person of extraordinary worth, he settled at *Megalopolis*, where, while his Friend lived, he had all he could desire. When *Crausis* died, he repay'd the Father's hospitable Kindness in the care of the Orphan-Son; by which means *Philopæmen* was educated by him, as *Homer* says *Achilles* was by *Phœnix*, and from his Infancy molded to great and virtuous Inclinations. But *Ecdemus* and *Demophanes* had the principal care of him, after he was past the years of Childhood: They were both *Megalopolitans*, who had been Scholars in the Academick Philosophy,



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Philosophy, and Friends to *Arcefilaus*, and above all Men of their time (1) applied the Precepts of Philosophy to Action and State-Affairs. They had freed their Country from Slavery, by the death of *Aristodemus*, whom they caus'd to be killed; they had assisted *Aratus* in driving out the Tyrant *Nicocles* from *Sycione*; and at the request of the *Cyreneans*, where the Publick was in much confusion, went thither by Sea, instituted for them excellent Laws, and settled their Commonwealth in exact Discipline. Of all their Actions, they most valued the Education of *Philopæmen*, thinking they had done a general Good to *Greece*, by breeding up so worthy a Man. And indeed all *Greece* (which look'd upon Him as a kind of latter Brood, brought forth, after so many famous Captains, in her decrepid Age) loved him wonderfully; and as his Glory grew, increas'd his Power. A certain *Roman*, to praise him, calls him *the last of the Grecians*; as if after Him *Greece* had produced no great Man, nor any who deserv'd the Name of *Grecian*.

(2) His Person was not, as Some fancy, deform'd, for his Statue is yet to be seen at *Delphi*. As for the mistake of the Hostess of *Megara*, They say it was occasioned by the meanness of his Habit, the homeliness of his Garb, and the easie plainness of his Conversation. This Hostess having word brought her that the General of the *Achèans* was coming to her House in the absence of her Husband, was

(1) This indeed is the Scope and Aim of true Philosophy, especially That of *Plato*, of whom *Arcefilaus* was a Follower, teaching Men to be useful to their Country, and to lend their Assistance to all such as stand in need of it.

(2) *Pausanias* asserts the contrary. He assures us, that for Size, and Strength of Body, he came

behind no Man in *Peloponnesus*, but that he was very ill-favoured, τὸ δὲ εἶδος, ἣν τῷ προσώπῳ κακός, and it must be confest that this Homeliness accounts for *Philopæmen's* Answer to the Woman at *Megara*, κακῆς ὥστε δίκας δίδωμι. I pay the Fine of my Deformity.

all

all in a hurry about providing of his Supper. *Philopœmen*, in a thread-bare unfashionable Cloak, arriving in this point of time, she took him for one of his own Train, and pray'd him to lend her his Hand in her Household work; he presently threw off his Cloak, and fell to cleaving of Logs: The Husband returning, and catching him at it, *Why, what*, says he, *may this mean, my Lord Philopœmen!* *I am*, reply'd he in his *Dorick* Dialect, *paying the Fine of my Deformity and ungraceful Presence.* *Flaminius* seeming to rally the Fashion of his Body, told him one Day, he had well-shap'd Hands and Feet, but no Belly: And he was indeed slender in the Waist. But this raillery was meant of the poverty of his Fortune; for he had good Horse and Foot, but often wanted Money to entertain and pay them. And These are the pleasant Stoties (1) they had in the Schools concerning *Philopœmen*.

As he was insatiably covetous of Honour, his Humour was somewhat rough and cholerick, and not altogether free from Censure. He strove to be like *Epaminondas*, and came not much behind him in Valour, good Conduct, and uncorruptible Integrity: But his boiling contentious Humour not suffering him in civil Contests to keep within the Bounds of Gravity, Sweetness and obliging Condescendence, he was thought more proper for the Camp than for the City; for he was strongly inclin'd to War, even from his Childhood, he both study'd and practis'd things belonging to it, taking great delight in managing of Horses, and handling of Weapons. Because he was naturally dispos'd for Wrestling, his Friends and Tutors perswaded him to

(1) In those Schools they discours'd of every Thing, and discours'd upon all sorts of Subjects; and the Actions and Sayings of the great Men who were then living, supply'd them with Matter for Discourse.

bestow some Pains that way. But he wou'd first be satisfied, whether it would not hinder him from becoming a Soldier. They told him, as it was, that the one was directly opposite to the other, their Ways of Living and Exercises quite different; the Wrestler sleeping much and feeding plentifully, punctually regular in his set times of Exercise and Rest, and apt to spoil all by every little Excess, or breach of his usual Method; whereas the Soldier, by all variety of irregular changes, was to bring himself to endure hunger and watching without difficulty. *Philopœmen* hearing This, not only laid by all thoughts of Wrestling, and contemn'd it then, but when he came to be General, discouraged it by all Marks of Reproach and Infamy he could imagine, as a thing which made Men, otherwise excellently fit for War, to be utterly useless, and unable to fight on necessary occasions.

When he left off his Masters and Governors, and began to bear Arms in the Incurſions which his Citizens us'd to make upon the *Lacedæmonians* for Pillage or sudden Surprizes, he would always march out the First, and return the Last. When there was nothing to do, he sought to harden his Body, and make it strong and active, by hunting, or labouring in his Ground; for he had a good Estate about twenty Furlongs from the Town, and thither he would go every Day after Dinner and Supper; and when Night came, throw himself upon the first Mattress in his way, and there sleep as one of the Labourers. At break of day he would rise with the rest, and work either in the Vineyard or at the Plough; from thence return again to the Town, and employ his time with his Friends, or the Magistrates in publick Business. What he got in the Wars he laid out on Horses, Arms, or redeeming Captives; but endeavour'd to improve his own Estate, the

(1) the justest way, by Husbandry : And this not slightly, by way of Diversion, but as one that thought it his Duty so to manage his own Fortune, as to be out of the temptation of wronging Others.

He spent much time on Eloquence and Philosophy, but selected his Authors, and cared only for those by whom he might profit in Virtue. (2) Among all *Homer's* Fictions and Sentiments he chiefly minded Those that served to raise the Courage, and spur Men on to galant Actions. But he studied principally the Commentaries of (3) *Evangelus* for the marshalling of Armies. He took delight also in the Histories of *Alexander* at leisure hours, still considering how to bring what he read into Practice: For, never heeding what such Books use for speculation sake to draw out in Figures, he lov'd to see, and discourse of what the Nature of Places and their Situations would bear. So that he would be exercising his thoughts, and considering, as

(1) This is what *Columella* has laid down as a Maxim in the Preface to his Books *de re rustica*. *Sola res rustica, quæ sine dubitatione proxima, & quasi consanguinea, Sapientia est; Husbandry only which without contradiction is very nearly related to Wisdom.* And after having recited all the different Arts and Occupations, he adds, *Supereſt, ut dixi, unum genus liberale, & ingenuum rei familiaris augenda, quod ex agricolatione contingit.* There is only one Method of improving One's Fortune noble in it self, and fit for a Gentleman to pursue, and That is Husbandry.

(2) This is a flagrant Instance of *Philopœmen's* high esteem for *Homer*; he found him abounding in exalted Ideas, but dwelt upon,

and made use only of Those that were the Incentives of Valour; which abound in that Poet. No Writer ever painted Courage in such lively Colours; His Lines are able to inspire it even into the most essential Coward.

(3) An ancient Author, who wrote of the Art of drawing up an Army in Battel. He is mentioned by *Arian*, who wrote upon the same Subject, and saith, that the Writings of this *Evangelus*, and Those of *Polybius*, *Eupolemus*, *Iphicrates*, and *Posidonius* were become of but little use in his time, because they had omitted several things as well known in the Age wherein they wrote, which however did then want some Explication.

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he travelled, and arguing with those about him, of the difficulties of steep or broken Ground; what might happen at Rivers, Ditches, or Straits; in Marching close or open; in this or that particular form of Battel. The truth is, he was too much addicted to War, which he passionately lov'd, as the means to exercise all sorts of Virtue, and (1) utterly contemned Those who were not Soldiers, as Drones, and useless in the Commonwealth.

When he was thirty Years of Age, *Cleomenes*, King of the *Lacedaemonians*, surpris'd *Megalopolis* by Night, forced the Guards, broke in, and seiz'd the Market-place. *Philopæmen* ran in at the Noise, and fought with extreme Courage and Danger, but could not beat the Enemy out again. Yet he saved the Citizens, who got away while he made head against Those who pursued them, and amused *Cleomenes*, 'till having lost his Horse, and received several Wounds, he had much ado to get off himself, being the last Man in the Retreat. The *Megalopolitans* saved themselves at *Messene*, whither *Cleomenes* sent to offer them their Town and Goods again. *Philopæmen* perceiving them transported with the News, and eager to return, stop'd them with a Speech, in which he made them sensible that what *Cleomenes* called restoring the City, was taking the Citizens, and holding it with more Security: That bare Solitude would without more ado force him presently away, since there was no staying for him to guard empty Houses and naked Walls. These Reasons stay'd the *Megalopolitans*, but gave occasion to *Cleomenes* to pillage and destroy a great part of the City, and carry away much Booty.

(1) This is carrying things too far. There are other Professions which, it is true, do not make so galant a Shew as That of War, but however are no less necessary or profitable.

A while after King *Antigonus* coming down to succour the (1) *Achaëans*, they march'd with their united Forces against *Cleomenes*; who having seiz'd the Avenues, lay advantageously posted on the Hills of *Sellacia*. *Antigonus* drew up close by him, with a resolution to force him in his Strength; *Philopæmen* with his Citizens was that day placed among the Horse, follow'd by the *Illyrian* Foot, a great number of try'd and able Men, who brought up the Rear of the Army. Their Orders were to keep their Ground, and not ingage 'till from the other Wing, where the King fought in Person, they should see a red *Coat of Arms* lifted up on the Point of a Spear. The *Achaëans* obey'd their Orders, and stood fast: but the *Illyrians* fell briskly in. *Euclidas* the Brother of *Cleomenes*, seeing the Foot thus sever'd from the Horse, detach'd the best of his light-arm'd Men, commanding them to wheel about, and charge the naked *Illyrians* behind; this Charge putting things in Confusion, *Philopæmen* considering those light-arm'd Men might easily be dispersed, went first to the King's Officers, to make them sensible what the Occasion requir'd. But they not minding what he said, but slighting him as hair-brain'd, because he was yet of small Credit, and not reputed a Man of Conduct, he charg'd upon them with his own Citizens, and at the first Encounter disorder'd, and soon after put those Men

'(1) *Ἀχαιοί*, the People of *Achaia*. This Word *Achaia* has a very extensive Signification, and wants to be explain'd. In its most general Sense it is taken for all *Greece* lying without the *Peloponnesus*, to the South of *Macedonia*, between *Epire* and the *Egean* Sea. But in *Plutarch*, as *Lubin* has well observ'd, it is taken in a more restrain'd Sense, for that Part of *Peloponnesus* on the South of the Co-

rimthian Gulph, call'd formerly *Ægialos*, extending on the Sea-Coast from *Sicyon* to *Patras*. Here was form'd That which was call'd the League of the *Achaëans*, to which many of the most considerable Cities were united. And it is of these *Achaëans* that *Plutarch* speaks in the Life of *Philopæmen*, and in Those of *Pelopidas*, and *Aratus*.

to flight with great Slaughter. Then to encourage the King's Army to bring them All upon the Enemy while he was in confusion, he quitted his Horse, and fighting with extream difficulty in his heavy Horse-arms, in rough uneven Ground, full of Springs and Boggs, had both his Thighs below the Buttock struck through with a thong'd Javelin. It was thrown with a good Will, so that the Head came out on the other Side, and made a great, though not a mortal Wound. There he stood a while, as if he had been shackled and unable to remove. The Thong in the middle of the Weapon hinder'd it from being drawn out, nor would Any about him venture to do it. But the Fight being now at the hottest, and like to be quickly over, he was transported with desire of Combat, and struggled and strained so long, setting one Leg forward, the Other back, 'till at last he broke the Staff, and made the Pieces be pull'd out. Being in this manner set at Liberty, he caught up his Sword, and running through the midst of Those who were fighting in the first Ranks, strangely animated his Men, and set them a-fire with Emulation. *Antigonus*, after the Victory, ask'd the *Macedonians*, to try them, how it hapned the Horse had charged without Order before the Signal? They answering, that they were against their Wills forc'd to it by a young Gentleman of *Megalopolis*, who had fallen in before his time; *That young Gentleman*, reply'd *Antigonus* smiling, *did like an experienc'd Commander*.

This, as needs it must, brought *Philopæmen* into great Reputation. *Antigonus* was earnest to have him in his Service, and offer'd him very advantageous Conditions, both as to Command and Pay. But *Philopæmen*, who knew that his Nature brooked not to be under Another, would not accept them; yet not enduring to live idle, and hearing of Wars in *Greece*, he pass'd over thither. He spent some

time among those very warlike, but withal sober, temperate People, improving much by Experience in all sorts of Service; and then return'd with so much Fame, that the *Acheans* presently chose him General of the Horse. These Horse at that time had neither Experience nor Heart, having gotten a custom to serve on pitiful Jades, the first and cheapest they could procure, when they were to march; which too they seldom did, but hir'd Others in their places, and staid at home Themselves. Their former Commanders wink'd at This; because it being a Degree of Honour among the *Acheans* to serve on Horseback, they had a great deal of Power in the Commonwealth, and were able to gratifie or molest whom they pleas'd. *Philopæmen* finding them in this Condition, yielded not to such Respects, nor would pass it over as formerly: But went Himself from Town to Town, where speaking with the young Gentlemen, Man by Man, he endeavour'd to bring them in love with Praise and Honour, and with making a handsom Appearance in the Field, setting Fines on Them who came unfurnish'd of what was requisite for their Parade. Where they were like to have most Spectators, there he would be sure to exercise them, and make them skirmish in sport One with Another. In a little time he made them wonderfully strong and bold, and, which is reckon'd of greatest Consequence in War, quick and vigorous. With Use and Industry they grew so perfect, had such a Command of their Horses, such a ready Exactness in wheeling Whole or Half-turns, and all other motions, that in the change of Postures, the whole Body seem'd as easily and as steadily mov'd as one Man. In the great Battel which they fought with the *Ætolians* and *Elians* by the River *Larissus*, He set then an Example himself. *Demophantes*, General of the *Elian* Horse, singled out *Philopæmen*, and ran with full speed at him,

him. *Philopæmen* prevented him, and with a violent Blow of his Spear overthrew him dead to the Ground: Upon whose Fall the Enemy fled immediately. And now *Philopæmen*'s Name was in every body's Mouth, as a Man who in personal Valour yielded not to the Youngest, nor to the Oldest in good Conduct, and than Whom there came not into the Field a better Soldier or Commander.

Aratus indeed was the first who rais'd the *Achæans*, inconsiderable 'till then, into Reputation and Power, by uniting the divided Cities into one Commonwealth, and settling a Way of Government, moderate, and becoming *Grecians*. Whence it hapned as in running Waters, where when few and little Bodies once stop, Others stick to them, and one part strengthening Another, the Whole becomes one firm and solid Body: So it was with *Greece* before the time of *Aratus*, when every City relying on it self, the Whole lay expos'd to an easie Destruction. 'Till the *Achæans* first united themselves into a Body, then drawing in their Neighbours round about, some by Protection, others by Naturalization, design'd at last to bring all *Peloponnesus* into one Community. Yet while *Aratus* liv'd, they depended much on the *Macedonians*, courting first *Ptolomy*, then *Antigonus* and *Philip*, who had a great Influence on the Affairs of *Greece*. But when *Philopæmen* came to command, the *Achæans* growing strong enough for the most powerful of their Enemies, would march no longer under Foreigners. The Truth is, *Aratus*, as we have written at large in his Life, was not of so warlike a Temper, but did most by Sweetness, a winning Carriage, and Friendship with Foreign Princes. But *Philopæmen*, being a Man both of Execution and Command, a great Soldier, and fortunate in his first Attempts, wonderfully heightned both the Power and Courage

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of the *Acheans*, accustom'd to Victory under his Conduct.

But first he alter'd what he found amiss in their Arms and form of Battel. Formerly they us'd light, thin Bucklers, too narrow to cover the Body, and Javelins much shorter than Those of the *Macedonians*. By which meant they were well fitted for skirmishing at a distance, but in a close Fight had much the disadvantage. Then in their form of Battel they understood nothing of fighting in a Ring, nor any Figure but a Square; to which too not allowing Front enough, nor closing it strongly, as in the *Macedonian* Phalanx, where the Soldiers shoulder close, and their Bucklers touch, they were easily open'd and broken. *Philopæmen* reform'd all This, persuading them to change the narrow Target and short Javelin, into a large Buckler and long Pike; to arm their Heads, Bodies, Thighs and Legs; and instead of loose skirmishing, fight firmly, and Foot to Foot. After he had brought them all to wear Armour, and by that means into the confidence of thinking themselves now invincible, he turn'd their wanton riotous Profusions into an honourable Expence. For being long us'd to vie in Cloaths, Furniture of their Houses, and Service of their Tables, he saw there was no curing them of this Vanity, no more than you can cure an inveterate Malady; he therefore endeavour'd to divert this Vanity of theirs from these Superfluities to things useful and laudable, and quickly prevail'd upon them to be sparing in their other Expences, that they might make a finer Appearance in their warlike Equipage. Nothing then was to be seen in the Shops but Plate breaking or melting down, gilding of Backs and Breasts, studding Bucklers and Bits with Silver: Nothing in the places of Exercise, but Horses managing, and young Men exercising their Arms: Nothing in the Ladies Hands but Helmets and Crests,

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Crests, Feathers of all Colours, embroidered Coat-Armors, and Caparisons for Horses. The Sight of which Bravery quickning and raising their Spirits, made them contemn Dangers, and ready to venture on any honourable Exploits.

Much Expende in other things that attract our Eyes is apt to produce Luxury and Effeminacy; the tickling of the Sense slackning the Vigour of the Mind; but in These it strengthened and heightened their Courage; (1) as *Homer* makes *Achilles* at the Sight of his new Arms springing with Joy, and on fire to use them. When *Philopæmen* had obtain'd of them to arm, and set themselves out in this manner, he proceeded to train them, mustering and exercising them perpetually, and They obey'd him with great Exactness. For they were wonderfully pleas'd with their new Form of Battel, which being so knit and cemented together, seem'd almost impossible to be broken. And then their Arms, which for their Riches and Beauty they wore with Pleasure, becoming light and easy with constant use, they longed for nothing more than to try them with an Enemy, and fight in earnest.

The *Achæans* at that time were at War with *Ma- chanidas* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, who having a

(1) How do's this Reflection of *Plutarch* illustrate that Passage in the Nineteenth Book of the *Iliad*, where *Thetis* brings to *Achilles* the Armour *Vulcan* had been making for him, and lays them at his Feet!

—The Hero kindles at the Show,
And feels with Rage divine his Bo-
som glow.
From his fierce Eye-balls living Flames
expire,
And flash incessant like a Stream of
Fire:
He turns the radiant Gift; and feeds
his Mind

On all th' immortal Artist had de-
sign'd. Pope.

One would think there was no-
thing in it but a strong Impulse of
Poetry, but *Plutarch* has made a
farther Discovery of a prodigious
deal of good Sense, and convinces
us that *Homer*, perfectly well ac-
quainted with every thing belong-
ing to Nature, paints in the most
proper Colours the Sentiments and
Motions the view of magnificent
Armour naturally excites in the
Breast of a Hero.

strong Army, watch'd all opportunities of becoming entire Master of *Peloponnesus*. When Intelligence came that he was fallen upon the *Mantineans*, *Philopæmen* presently took the Field, and march'd towards him. They met near *Mantineia*, and drew up in Sight of the City. Besides the whole Strength of their several Cities, they Both had a good Number of Mercenaries in pay. When they came to fall on, *Machanidas*, with his hir'd Soldiers, broke the Darts and Lances of the *Tarentins*, which *Philopæmen* had plac'd in the Front, to cover the *Achéans*. But when he should have charg'd immediately into the main Battel, which stood close and firm, he hotly follow'd the Chace; and instead of routing the *Achéans* Army, disorder'd his Own. With so untoward a Beginning the rest of the Confederates gave themselves for lost, but *Philopæmen* seem'd to flight and make it a matter of small consequence; and observing the Enemy's Oversight, who had left their main Body undefended, and the Ground clear, would not make head against *Machanidas*, but let him pursue the Chace freely, 'till he had run himself a great distance from his main Body. Then seeing the *Lacedæmonians* before him, deserted by their Horse, with their Flanks quite bare, he charg'd suddenly, and surpriz'd them without a Commander, and not so much as expecting an Encounter: For when they saw *Machanidas* driving the beaten Enemy before him, they thought the Victory already gain'd. He overthrew them with a great Slaughter, for They report above four Thousand kill'd in the Place; and then fac'd about against *Machanidas*, who was returning with his Mercenaries from the Pursuit. There hapned to be a broad deep Ditch between them, where Both strove a while, One to get over and fly, the Other to hinder him. It bore a resemblance of wild Beasts, forc'd to fight for their Lives, when prest by so

eager

eager a Huntsman as *Philopæmen*; rather than of Generals in a Field. The Tyrant's Horse was mettled and strong; and feeling the bloody Spurs in his Sides, ventur'd to take the Ditch. He had already planted his hinder feet on the Bank, and rais'd his forefeet to leap, when *Simmi* and *Polyænus*, who us'd to fight by the side of *Philopæmen*, came up on Horse-back to his Assistance. But *Philopæmen*, preventing Both, stood *Machanidas* Himself; and perceiving that the Horse with his Head high rear'd, cover'd his Master's Body; he turn'd his own a little, and striking at the Tyrant with all his force, tumbled him dead into the Ditch.

The *Achæans*, wonderfully taken with his Valour in this single Combat, and with his Conduct the whole day, set up his Statue in Brass at *Delphi*, in the Posture in which he kill'd the Tyrant. The Report goes, that at the *Nemean* Games, a little after the Victory, *Philopæmen* being then General the second time, and at leisure by reason of the Solemnity, first shew'd the *Grecians* his Army, drawn up as if they were to fight, with all the Motions occurring in a Battel perform'd with wonderful Order, Strength, and Activity. After which he went into the Theatre, while the Musicians were singing for the Prize, waited on by Gentlemen in their Leaguer-cloaks, and Scarlet Coats, all handsome Men and in the flower of their Age, and all carrying a great respect to their General; yet breathing out a noble Confidence in themselves, rais'd by success in many glorious Encounters. At their coming in, by chance one *Pilades*, a Musician, with a Voice well suited to the lofty Style of the Poet, was singing this Verse out of the *Persians* of *Timotheus*,

Under his Conduct Greece was free and great.

The whole Theatre presently cast their Eyes on *Philopæmen*, and fell a clapping with wonderful Joy, ravish'd

The LIFE of

ravish'd with Hopes to recover again their former Fame, and a Greatness of Spirit little short of their ancient Virtue.

Now it was with the *Achaens*, as with young Horses, which go quietly with their usual Riders, but boggle and grow unruly under Strangers. The Soldiers, when any hot Service was towards, and *Philopæmen* not at their Head, grew dejected, and look'd about for him; but if He once appear'd, came presently to themselves, and recover'd their Confidence and Courage. Of which their very Enemies being sensible, they could not endure to look Him in the Face: but, as appear'd in several Occasions, were frighted with his very Name.

Philip King of *Macedon*, thinking to terrifie the *Achaens* into Subjection again, if he could rid his hands of *Philopæmen*, employed Some privately to assassinate him. But the Treachery coming to light, he became infamous, and mortally hated through all *Greece*. The *Bæotians* besieging *Megara*, and ready to carry the Town by Storm, upon a groundless Rumour, that *Philopæmen* was at hand with succour, run away, and left their scaling Ladders already fastned to the Walls. *Nabis*, (who became Tyrant of *Lacedæmon* after the Death of *Machanidas*) had surpriz'd *Messene* at a time when *Philopæmen* was out of Command. He try'd to perswade *Lysippus*, then General of the *Achaens*, to succour *Messene*: But not prevailing with him, because he said the Enemy being now within, the Place was irrecoverably lost, he resolv'd to go Himself, without Order or Commission, but follow'd by his own Citizens, who went all with him as their General by Commission from Nature, (1) which has decreed

(1) That is certainly the Voice of Nature. However it is not so to be understood but in Case of Liberty, where there is no Tye arising from any prior Engagement. For when the Laws of the Country, or common Consent, have once named a Ruler, He is to be obey'd, and Nature must be silent.

that

that He should be obey'd, who is fittest to command. *Nabis*, hearing of his coming, tho' his Army lay quarter'd within the Town, thought it not convenient for him to stay; but stealing out of the farthest Gate with his Men, march'd away with all the speed he could, thinking himself a happy Man if he could get off with safety. And he did escape, but *Messene* was rescued.

All hitherto makes for the Praise and Honour of *Philopœmen*. But when, at the request of the *Gortynians*, he return'd again into *Crete* to command for them, at a time when his own Country was distressed by *Nabis*, (1) he was taxed either of Cowardise, in shunning to fight a dangerous Enemy, or else of an unseasonable Vanity in courting the Praise of Foreigners at such a time. For the *Megalopolitans* were then so press'd, that the Enemy being Master of the Field, and encamping almost at their Gates, they were forc'd to keep themselves within their Walls, and sow their very Streets. And he flying from a War at home, and commanding in chief in a foreign Nation, furnish'd his Ill-willers with matter enough for their Reproaches. Some said he took the Offer of the *Gortynians*, because the *Acheans* chose other Generals, and left Him but a private Man, for he could not endure to sit still, but looking upon War, and commanding in it, as his great Business, always coveted to be employ'd. And This agrees with what he once said smartly of King *Ptolemy*. Somebody was praising him for keeping his Army and Himself in perpetual exercise; *And what Praise*, reply'd *Philopœmen*, *is it for a King of his Years, to be always preparing, and*

(1) That Calumny was without son. And it was an Honour to his Foundation. He retir'd because Country, whilst his Successor was another General having been appointed to succeed him, he was to go, and command the Troops then no more than a private Per- of the *Gortynians*.

never performing? However, the *Megalopolitans* thinking themselves betray'd, took it so ill, that they were about to banish him. But the *Achæans* dash'd that design, by sending their Prætor *Ariste-netus* to *Megalopolis*, who, tho' he were at difference with *Philopæmen* about Affairs of the Commonwealth, yet would not suffer him to be banish'd. *Philopæmen* being upon this account out of favour with his Citizens, drew off divers of the little neighbouring Places from obeying them, putting it in their Heads to say, that from the beginning they were not subject to their Taxes, or Laws, or any way under their Command. In these Pretences he openly took their part, and at the same time fomented Seditions in the City against the *Achæans*. But these things happen'd a while after.

While he staid in *Crete*, in the Service of the *Gortynians*, he made War not like a *Peloponnesian* or *Arcadian*, fairly in the open Field, but fought with them at their own Weapons, and turning their Stratagems and Tricks against Themselves, soon made them see that they were only good at low Craft, and were but Children to an experienc'd Soldier. Having manag'd it then with great Bravery, and great Reputation to Himself, he return'd into *Peloponnesus*, where he found *Philip* beaten by *T. Quintius*, and *Nabis* at War both with the *Romans* and *Achæans*. He was presently chosen General against *Nabis*, but venturing to fight by Sea, seem'd to have split upon the same Rock with *Epaminondas*, and by a Success very different from the general Expectation, and his own Fame, lost much of his former Reputation. But for *Epaminondas*, Some report he was backward by design, to disgust his Countrymen with the Sea, lest of good Soldiers, they should by little and little turn, as *Plato* says, ill Mariners: And therefore return'd from *Asia* and the Islands, without doing any thing to the purpose.

purpose. Whereas *Philopœmen* thinking his Skill in Land-service would prevail likewise at Sea, (1) only learnt what a Share Experience has in making our Courage successful, and how much it imports in the Management of things to be accustomed to them: For He was not only put to the worst in the Fight for want of Skill, but having rigg'd up an old Ship, which had been a famous Vessel forty Years before, and shipp'd his Citizens in her, she foundring, he had like to have lost them All. But then finding the Enemy, as if he had been driven out of the Sea, had, in contempt of him, besieged *Gytheon*, he presently set sail again, and taking them unexpectedly, dispers'd, and careless after the Victory, landed in the Night, burnt their Camp, and kill'd a great Number of them.

A few Days after, as he was marching thro' rough and narrow Passages, *Nabis* came suddenly upon him. The *Acheans* were dismay'd, and in so strait a Place, and which was seized by the Enemy, despair'd to get off with Safety. *Philopœmen* made a little halt, and when he had view'd the Ground, made it appear, that the greatest thing in War is Skill in drawing up an Army. For by advancing

(1) Here is a General, who because he has acquired a great Reputation in the Land Service, thinks himself capable of commanding with the like Success at Sea; but Experience taught him otherwise. They are two different Talents, and, for the better Illustration of this Passage, the Reader will forgive me if I relate here what was one day said by one of the greatest Captains that ever France, shall I say, or the World produced; I mean the great Prince of Condé. As They were talking of a naval Fight, the Prince said, he should be glad to see one, adding that upon such an Occasion

he would make it his Business to observe every thing that passed with the greatest Application. A Sea Officer that happen'd to be present reply'd, Sir, in that Case there is not an Admiral but would be proud to receive his Orders from your Highness. My Orders, reply'd the Prince, hold you there; I would not so much as presume to give my Opinion; I would remain quietly upon the Deck, and distinctly observe all their Motions and Operations for my Instruction. If *Philopœmen* had had the Sense and Modesty of that Prince he would not have met with so great a Rebuff.

only

only a few Paces, and without any Confusion or Trouble, altering his Order according to the Nature of the Place, he presently took away all Apprehensions from his Men, and then charging, put the Enemy to flight. But when he saw they fled not towards the City, but dispers'd every Man a different way all over the Field, which for Wood and Hills, Brooks and Ditches was not passable for Horse, he sounded a Retreat, and encamped by broad Day-light. Then foreseeing the Enemy would endeavour to steal scatteringly into the City in the dark, he posted strong Parties of the *Achaens* all along the Banks and Hillocks near the Walls. Many of *Nabis's* Men fell into their Hands; for returning not in a Body, but as the chance of Flight had dispos'd of every one, they were caught like Birds, ere they could enter into the Town.

For these things he was wonderfully loved, and was also honour'd in all the Theatres of *Greece*, but got the secret Ill-will of *Titus Flaminius*, a Man covetously ambitious of Glory. For He thought it but reasonable a Consul of *Rome* should be otherwise esteem'd by the *Achaens*, than a Gentleman of *Arcadia*; especially seeing there was no Comparison between what He, and what *Philopæmen* had done for them. For He by one Proclamation had restored all *Greece*, as much as had been under *Philip* and the *Macedonians*, to liberty. After This *Titus* made Peace with *Nabis*, and *Nabis* was circumvented and slain by the *Ætolians*. Things being then in Confusion at *Sparta*, *Philopæmen* lay'd hold on that Occasion, and coming upon them with his Army, prevail'd with Some by Persuasion, with Others by Fear, 'till he brought the whole City over to the *Achaens*. As it was no small matter for *Sparta* to become a Member of *Achaia*, this Action gained him infinite Praise from the *Achaens*, for strengthening the Union by the Addition of so

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great and powerful a City, and not a little Good-will from the Nobility of *Sparta* it self, who hoped they had now procured a General who would defend their Freedom.

Wherefore having made a hundred and twenty Silver Talents by Sale of the House and Goods of *Nabis*, they decreed Him the Mony, and to send Some in the Name of the City to present it. But here the Honesty of *Philopæmen* appear'd, as it was, a real uncounterfeited Virtue. There was not a Man amongst them that would undertake to mention the matter to him, but every one excusing himself, and shifing it off to his Fellow, they laid it at last on *Timolaus*, with whom *Philopæmen* had lodg'd at *Sparta*. *Timolaus* came to *Megalopolis*, and was entertain'd by *Philopæmen*; but struck into Admiration with his grave manner of Discourse, his thrifty and upright way of living, judg'd him not a Man to be tempted, and so, pretending other Business, return'd without a Word mention'd of the Present. He was sent again, and did just as formerly. But the third time, with much ado and faltring in his Words, he acquainted *Philopæmen* with the Good-will of the City of *Sparta* to him. *Philopæmen* hearkned to him obligingly and gladly, and then went himself to *Sparta*, where he advis'd them not to bribe good Men, and their Friends, of whose Virtue they might be sure without Charge to themselves; but buy off and silence ill Citizens, who were perpetually disquieting the City with their seditious Speeches in the Senate, or to the People. For it was better to bar Liberty of Speech in Enemies, than in Friends. Thus it appear'd how much *Philopæmen* was above Bribery.

Diophanes being afterwards General of the *Acheans*, and hearing the *Lacedæmonians* were bent on new Commotions, resolv'd to chastise them. They on the other side being set upon War, embroil'd all *Peloponnesus*.

Phonnesus. *Philopæmen* did what he could to sweeten *Diophanes*, and make him sensible, that as the Times went, (1) while *Antiochus* and the Romans were disputing their vast Pretensions with mighty Armies in the Heart of Greece, it concerned a Man in his Employment to keep a watchful Eye over them, and dissembling and putting up many Injuries to preserve all quiet at home. *Diophanes* would not be ruled, but joined with *Titus*, and Both together falling into *Laconia*, marched directly to *Sparta*. *Philopæmen* was so nettled, (2) that he did an Action in it self not justifiable, but which proceeded from a great and undaunted Spirit; for getting into the Town himself, He, a private Man as he was, kept out both the Consul of *Rome* and General of *Achaia*, quieted the Disorders in the City, and reunited it once again to the *Achèans*.

Yet afterwards when he was Prætor himself, upon some new Misdemeanor of the *Lacedæmonians*, he brought back Those who had been banish'd, put, as *Polybius* writes, eighty, according to *Aristocrates* three hundred and fifty Citizens to death, raz'd the Walls, took away a good part of their Territory, and laid it to the *Megalopolitans*, forced out of the Country, and carried into *Achaia*, All who had been made free of *Sparta* by Tyrants, except three thousand who would not submit to Banishment. Those he sold for Slaves, and with the Money, as if to insult over them, built a Porch at *Megalopolis*. Lastly, unworthily trampling upon the *Lacedæmonians* in their Calamities, and even glutting his Hatred with a most cruel and inhuman Action,

(1) *C. Livius* had this Year the Command of the Roman Fleet, with which he overthrew That of *Antiochus* near *Ephesus*.

(2) Strictly speaking, it was a very unwarrantable, and unjust Step in *Philopæmen* to desert his Gene-

ral, and throw himself into *Sparta* on purpose to oppose him. However he was justified in the Event. Tho' a good Man is not to have recourse to the Event in Justification of his Actions,

(1) he abolish'd the Laws of *Lycurgus*, and forced them to educate their Children, and live after the manner of the *Achaens*. For while they kept to the Discipline of *Lycurgus*, there was no pulling down their haughty Spirits; but now their Calamities had given *Philopæmen* opportunity to cut the Sinews of their Commonwealth asunder, they were brought low, and grew tame and humble. Yet This lasted not long; for applying themselves to the *Romans*, and getting their Consent, they soon threw off their new *Achaian* Fashions; and, as much as in so miserable and depraved a Condition they could, re-establish'd their old Discipline.

When the War betwixt *Antiochus* and the *Romans* broke out in *Greece*, *Philopæmen* was a private Man: At which he repin'd grievously, when he saw *Antiochus* lay idle at *Calcis*, spending his time in unseasonable Courtships and Weddings, and his Men dispersed in several Towns without Order or Commanders, and minding nothing but their Pleasures. He used to tell the *Romans* that he envy'd their Victory; and that if he had had the Fortune to be then in Command, he would have surpriz'd the Enemy, and cut all their Throats at their Debauches. When *Antigonus* was overcome, the *Romans* pressed harder upon *Greece*, and surrounded the *Achaens* with their Power; the leading Men in the several Cities grew out of heart, the great Strength of the whole Body insensibly vanish'd, and

(1) *Plutarch* has with good reason called This a cruel and inhuman Action; the most cruel, and the most unjust that could possibly be offered to *Sparta*. The only way to pull it up by the Roots was to abolish an Establishment under which it had flourished in great Glory and Prosperity for the Space of seven hundred

Years, and upwards. The ready way to give a mortal Wound to a Community is to deprive it of those Customs and Usages which preserve to it its Morals and Discipline, and cherish in the Individuals a Spirit of Courage and Resolution which only can enable them to triumph over their Enemies.

the rolling of Fortune began to settle on the Roman Basis. *Philopæmen* in this Conjunction carried himself like a good Pilot in a high Sea, sometimes shifting Sail, and sometimes yielding, but still steering steady; and omitting no Opportunity nor Earnestness to keep All who were considerable, whether for Eloquence or Riches, fast to the Defence of their common Liberty.

Aristinetus a *Megalopolitan* of great Credit among the *Acheans*, but always a Favourer of the *Romans*, said one Day in the Senate, that the *Romans* were not to be displeased, or refused any thing. *Philopæmen* heard him with an impatient Silence: But at last notable to hold longer, said angrily to him, (1) And why in such haste, wretched Man, to behold an End of Greece? *Manlius*, the Roman Consul, after the Defeat of *Antiochus*, moved the *Acheans* to restore the banish'd *Lacedæmonians* to their Country, which Motion was seconded and supported by all the Interest of *Titus*. But *Philopæmen* cross'd it, not for any Ill-will to the Men, but because they should be beholden to Him and the *Acheans*, not to *Titus* and the *Romans*. For when he came to be Prætor himself, He restored them. So impatient was his great Spirit of doing things by Command, and so prone his Nature to contend with Men in Power.

Being now threescore and ten, and the eighth time General, he was in hope to pass in quiet, not only the Year of his Magistracy, but his remaining Life. For as Diseases are weaker in weaker Bodies, the quarrelling Humour of the *Grecians* abated much with their Power. But envious Fortune threw him down in the close of his Life, like one who with

(1) This is a fine Saying. *Philopæmen* meant by it that they should be no longer *Grecians*, when once they had submitted to the *Romans*.

unmatchable speed runs over all the Race, and stumbles at the Goal. 'Tis reported, that being in company where one was praised for a great Commander, he reply'd, (1) *there was no great account to be made of a Man, who had suffered himself to be taken alive by his Enemies.*

A few Days after, News came that *Dinocrates* a *Messenian*, a particular Enemy to *Philopæmen*, and for his Wickedness and Villanies generally hated, had brought *Messene* to revolt from the *Achæans*, and was about to seize a little Place called (2) *Colonis*. *Philopæmen* lay then sick of a Fever at *Argos*. Upon the News he hastened away, and reached *Megalopolis*, which was distant above four hundred Furlongs, in one Day. From thence he presently drew out a choice Body of Horse, consisting of the chiefest of the City, in the vigour of their Age and Mettle, and forward in the matter, both from their extraordinary Love to *Philopæmen*, and from their Love of Glory. As they marched towards *Messene*, they met with *Dinocrates* about (3) *Evander's Hill*, charged and routed him. But five hundred

(1) This was the Sentiment of *Regulus*, so finely touch'd by *Horace* in the fifth Ode of his third Book. *Plutarch* thinks this Saying of *Philopæmen*'s too haughty, and presuming; for the bravest Man in the World may have the Fortune to fall alive into the Hands of his Enemies; nay, it often happens to be the Effect of his undaunted Courage, of which Experience can supply us with many Instances.

(2) I know of no Place call'd *Colonis*. *Plutarch* without doubt had writ it *Corone*, which was a very considerable Post on the Sea-side, below *Messene*. *Strabo* mentions

it, and *Livy* calls it *Corone* in this very History.

(3) I find no where else the least mention of this Hill of *Evander*; but at some distance from *Messene*, in the way leading towards *Aradia*, *Polybius* and after him *Pausanias*, tell us there is a Hill call'd *Evan*, which, without doubt, is that meant by *Plutarch* in this Place; and for want of rightly understanding the Word, (it being an Exclamation used in *Bacchus's Orgies*) it has been universally taken for *Evander*, as if some Accident had bereaved it of the last Syllable.

fresh Men, who being left for a Guard to the Country came late in, hapning to appear, the flying Enemy rally'd again about the Hills. *Philopæmen* fearing to be inclosed, and solicitous for his Men, retreated over Ground extreamly disadvantageous, bringing up the Rear in Person. As he often faced and ran upon the Enemy, he drew them all upon Himself; yet they only caracoll'd aloof and shouted about him, no Body daring to approach him. With care to save every single Man, he left his main Body so often, that at last he was left Himself alone among the thickest of his Enemies. Yet even then None durst come up to him, but being pelted at a distance, and driven to stony steep Places, he was fain with much spurring to wind up and down as he was able: His Age was no hindrance to him, for with perpetual Exercise it was both strong and active. But being weakned with Sicknes, and tired with his long Journey, his Horse stumbling, threw him, encumber'd with his Arms, and faint, upon a hard and rugged piece of Ground. His Head being grievously bruised with the Fall, he lay a while speechless, so that the Enemy thinking him dead began to turn and strip him. But when they saw him lift up his Head, and open his Eyes, they threw themselves in crouds upon him, bound his Hands behind him, and carry'd him off with all the provoking Scorn and opprobrious Language of insulting Insolence; Him, I say, who had never so much as dream'd of being led in triumph by *Dinocrates*.

The *Messenians*, wonderfully puffed up with the News, thronged in Swarms to the City Gates. But when they saw *Philopæmen* in a Posture so unsuitable to the Glory of his great Actions and famous Victories, most of them struck with Grief, and cursing the deceitful Vanity of human Fortune,
fell

fell a weeping with Compassion. Their Tears by little and little turn'd to kind Words, and 'twas almost in every Body's Mouth, that they ought to remember what he had done for Them and the Common Liberty, which, by driving away *Nabis*, he had preserved. Some few, to make their Court to *Dinocrates*, were for tormenting, and putting him to Death, as a dangerous and irreconcilable Enemy; that if once he got loose, *Dinocrates* was lost, who had taken him Prisoner, and used him basely. They put him at last into a Dungeon under-ground, which they called *the Treasury*, a place into which there comes no Air, nor Light from abroad; and which having no Doors, is closed with a great Stone, which rolling to the entrance, they fix'd, and placing a Guard about it, left him. In the mean time *Philopæmen's* Soldiers recovering themselves after their Flight, and fearing he was dead when he appeared no where, made a Stand, calling him with loud Cries, and reproaching one another with their unworthy and shameful Escape; and betraying their General, who to preserve Their Lives had lost his Own. Then they fell to searching curiously every where, 'till hearing at last he was taken, they sent away Messengers round about with the News. The *Achaëns* resented the Misfortune deeply, and decreed to send and demand Him, and in the mean time drew their Army together for his Rescue.

While these things pass'd in *Achaia*, *Dinocrates* fearing Delays would save *Philopæmen*, resolved to be before-hand with the *Achaëns*; wherefore as soon as Night had dispers'd the Multitude, he sent in the Executioner with Poison, and ordered him not to stir from him 'till he had taken it. *Philopæmen* was then laid down, wrapt up in his Cloak, not sleeping, but oppress'd with Grief and Trouble. But seeing Light,

and a Man with Poison by him, he struggled to sit up, and taking the Cup, ask'd the Hangman if he heard any thing of the Horse-men, particularly *Lycortas*? The Fellow answering, that the most Part had got off safe; he nodded, and looking chearfully upon him, 'Tis well, says he, *that we are not every way unfortunate.* And without a Word more, drank it off, and laid him down again. His Weakness struggling but little with the Poison, it dispatch'd him presently.

The News of his Death fill'd all *Achaia* with Grief and Lamentation. The Youth, with some of the Chief of the several Cities, met at *Megalopolis*, with a Resolution to take Revenge without delay. They chose (1) *Lycortas* General, and falling upon the *Messenians*, put all to Fire and Sword, 'till the City by common consent yielded. *Dinoerates*, with as many as had voted for his Death, prevented their Revenge, and kill'd themselves. Those who would have had him tormented, *Lycortas* put in Chains. They burnt his Body, and put the Ashes into an Urn, and then march'd homeward, not in a disordered hurry, but with a kind of solemn Pomp, half Triumph, half Funeral, Crowns of Victory on their Heads, and Tears in their Eyes, their Captive Enemies in Fetters by them. *Polybius*, the General's Son, carried the Urn, whereof there was hardly any thing to be seen but Garlands and Ribbons. The chief of the *Acheans* march'd near to *Polybius*. The Soldiers follow'd, bravely arm'd and mounted, with Looks neither altogether sad as in Mourning, nor lofty as in Victory. The People from all Towns and Villages

(1) This was in the second Year of the one hundred and forty ninth Olympiad. *Lycortas* was the Father of *Polybius* the Histo-

rian, who was in the Action, and might be at that time about twenty Years of Age.

in their way, flock'd out to meet him, as at his return from Conquest, and saluting and touching the Urn, fell in with the Company, and follow'd on to *Megalopolis*. Where when the old Men, the Women and Children were mingled with the rest, the whole City was fill'd with Sighs, Complaints and Cries, looking upon the loss of *Philopœmen* as the loss of their Greatness, and on Themselves as no longer Chief among the *Acæans*. So he was honourably buried according to his Worth, and the Prisoners put to death, by stoning them about the Place where his Monument was erected.

(1) Many Statues were set up, and many Honours decreed him by the several Cities; (2) all which a certain *Roman*, who after the Destruction of *Corinth* prosecuted him, as if he had been alive, for an Enemy to the *Romans*, would have remov'd. The

(1) We find in *Pausanias* the Inscription Those of *Tegea* made on the Statue They erected in Memory of that great Man; it consists of eight Elegiac Verses, of so wonderful a Beauty, that I believe it will not be unacceptable to the Reader to have them inserted here.

Τῷ δ' ἄρετᾷ καὶ δόξᾳ καθ' Ἑλλά-
δα πόλλα μετ' ἀλκαῖς,
Πόλλα δὲ καὶ βελαῖς ἔργα
ποισάμεναι,
Ἀρκάδος αἰχμητᾶ Φιλοποίμε-
νος, ὃ μέγα κύδος
ἔσπερ' ἐνὶ πολέμῳ δ' ἔρατος
ἀγέμεναι.
Μανύει δὲ τρόπαια τέτυγμένα
δι' αὐτὰ τυράννων
Σπάρτης ἀντιζομένην δ' ἄρα το
δυσλοσύναν.
Ὡν ἕνεκεν Τεγέα μεγαλόφρονα
Κραυγίδος ἦδ' ὄν

Σταῖσεν ἀμωμήτε κρᾶν' ὅρ'
ἐλευθερίας.

O Chief! renown'd in Arms, and
Councils too,
The Praise of every Grecian is thy due.
Two Tyrants slam, and Liberty re-
stor'd,
These are the Blessings of thy gene-
rous Sword.
For This two Trophies high erected
stand,
The cheerful Homage of a grateful
Land.
For This Tegea dedicates to Fame
This Statue, sacred to the Hero's
Name.

(2) Thirty-seven Years after his Death, that is the second Year of the one hundred and forty-eighth *Olympiad*, one hundred forty five Years before the Birth of our Sa-
viour,

business made a Noise, and *Polybius* answered the Sycophant at large. But neither *Mummius* nor his Lieutenants would suffer the honourable Monuments of so great a Man to be defaced, though he had often cross'd both *Titus* and *Manlius*. They distinguish'd well, in my Opinion, and as became Honest Men, betwixt Interest and Virtue, Honest and Profitable, when they thought Thanks and Reward due to Him who does a Benefit, from Him who receives it, and Honour never to be deny'd by the Good to the Good. And so much concerning *Philopæmen*.



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Lcheromyn.

Vol. 3: p. 409.

Baron. sc. 22



THE
L I F E
O F
TITUS Q. FLAMINIUS.

Titus Quintius (1) *Flaminius* (whom we pitch upon for a Parallel to *Philopæmen*) what He was as to his outward appearance, They who are led with a Curiosity that way, may see in (2) his Brazen Statue,

(1) It ought to be written *Flaminius*, and not *Flaminius*. If *Plutarch* originally wrote it *Flaminius*, he committed a gross Error, and confounded two very distinct Families. He calls that Person *Flaminius*, whom *Polybius*, *Livy*, and all the other Historians call *Flaminius*. *Flaminius* was of a Patrician Family, and *Flaminius* of a Plebeian. In a Word, *Caius Flaminius*, who was slain in the Battel which was fought near the Lake of *Thymenus*, and this *T. Quintius Ela-*

minius were two very different Persons. I ought to acquaint the Reader that there is a Manuscript wherein it is always *Φλαμίνιος* *Flaminius*, instead of *Φλαμίνιος* *Flaminius*. This would be a sufficient Authority for me to correct the Text, but I chuse rather to leave it as I found it; what I have said here by way of Advertisement may suffice.

(2) It is a matter of Surprise that so grave an Historian as *Plutarch* should refer his Reader to that Statue;

The LIFE of

Statue, which stands in *Rome* next that of the Great *Apollo*, brought from *Carthage*, opposite to the *Circus Maximus*, with a *Greek* Inscription upon it. But for the Temper of his Mind, it is said to have been somewhat of the hottest, both in his angry, and in the kinder Expressions of himself, but not to an equal pitch or continuance in both; for when he came to Punishing, his Anger was soon over, and the Punishment light. But whatever Courtesie or good Turn he set about, he went thro' with it. So civil, so obliging was he always to them on whom he poured his Favours, as if They, not he, had been the Benefactors. He practised as much Observance and Care towards all that had tasted of his Beneficence, as if in Them had been lodg'd his choicest Treasures: But being ever thirsty after Honour, and a mighty Affecter of Glory, if any thing of a greater and more extraordinary Nature were to be done, he would be sure to be the Doer of it Himself; (1) he took more pleasure in Those that needed, than in Those that were capable of conferring Courtesies; looking on the former as

Statue; which at most could be of use only to such as dwelt at *Rome*, and were living near the time wherein he wrote. But as these Lives were design'd for the use of all Men, in all Countries, and in all Ages, cou'd he think that Those who were to read this Life, five hundred Leagues from *Rome*, and more than a thousand Years after it was first written, wou'd undertake so long a Voyage on Purpose to view this Statue, which might not possibly be then in Being, that they might be able to know what sort of Man, as to his Person, this *Flamininus* was? It would have been much better

if He himself would have taken the Pains to have given us a Description of it.

(1) What a noble Maxim is This! how full of Generosity! What a Rebuke is it to such grovelling Souls, such mean-spirited Men, who never in their whole Lives make one Step, contract the least Friendship or Acquaintance with any but Such as have it in their Power to assist, and be beneficial to them! In that mercenary View will they flatter, and make Court to the most unworthy of Mankind, tho' at the same time they cannot but despise them in their Hearts,

proper

proper Objects for his Virtue, and on the latter as his Competitors in Glory.

Rome had then many and sharp Contests abroad; and her Youth betaking themselves early to the Wars, learn'd betimes the Art of Commanding, when *Flaminius*, having pass'd through the Rudiments of Soldierly began his first Charge in the War against *Hannibal*, as Commander of a thousand Foot under *Marcellus* the then Consul. *Marcellus* indeed, falling into an Ambuscade, was cut off. But *Titus* getting the Governorship as well of *Tarentum* (then re-taken a second time) as of the Country about it, grew no less famous for his Administration of Justice, than for his Military Skill. This occasioned him to be appointed Chieftain and Leader of those two Colonies which were sent into the Cities of *Nenia* and *Cossa*; which fill'd him with loftier Thoughts, and made him step over those previous Honours which such young Candidates use to pass through of Tribune, Prætor, and Ædile, and level his first aim at the Consulship. Having therefore these Colonies, and all that Interest ready at his Devotion, without more ado, he stands for it: But the Tribunes of the People, *Fulvius* and *Manlius*, and their Party, strongly oppos'd him; alledging how undecent a thing, how ill a Precedent it was, that a Man of such raw Years, one who was yet, as 'twere, untrain'd, never initiated in the first sacred Rites and Mysteries of Government, should, in contempt and opposition of their Laws, intrude and force himself into the Sovereignty.

However, the Senate remitted it to the People's choice and suffrage, (1) who elected Him (though not then

(1) This Period will lead us back exactly to the time of *Flaminius* his Birth. *Plutarch* tells us he was named Consul with *Sextus Ælius Patrus*, the second, or according to Others, the third Year of the

The LIFE of

then arrived at his thirtieth Year) and *Sextus Ælius* Consuls. The War against *Philip* and the *Macedonians* fell to *Titus* by Lot; and surely some kind Genius, propitious at that time to the *Roman* Affairs, had a hand in the drawing it: For the *Macedonians* were not Men of that stubborn Nature, as to need a General to be sent against them, who would always be upon the point of force and dry blows, but were rather reducible by persuasion and gentle usage. It is true that the Kingdom of *Macedon* furnish'd Supplies enough to *Philip*, to enable him to adventure on a single Battel with the *Romans*; but to maintain a long and lingring War, he must call in Aid from *Greece*; from *Greece* must he recruit his strength; from *Greece* replenish his stores; from thence must he borrow his strong holds and retreating places; and, in a word, all the Materials of War must the *Macedonian* Army fetch from thence. Unless therefore that the *Grecians* could be taken off from siding with *Philip*, this War with him must not expect its decision from a single Battel. Now *Greece* (who had not hitherto held much Correspondence with the *Romans*, and did but then begin to concern itself with their Affairs) would not so soon have embraced a Foreign Authority instead of the Governors she had been inur'd to, had not the *Roman* Consul been of a sweet and winning Nature, one who worked rather by fair means than force; of a most insinuating address in all Applications of himself to Others,

the one hundred and forty fifth Olympiad, in the five hundred and fifty-fifth Year of *Rome*, one hundred and ninety six Years before the Christian *Æra*, and that he was not full thirty Years of Age; from whence it follows that he was born in the five hundred and twenty-sixth Year of *Rome*, the the first Year of the hundred and

thirty-eighth Olympiad: and this Account agrees with *Livy*, who saith that at the time when he proclaim'd Liberty to *Greece*, during the Celebration of the *Isthmian* Games, which happen'd in the first Year of the one hundred and forty-sixth Olympiad, he was but thirty three Years old, *sed erat trium fere & triginta annorum*, and

and no less easy, courteous, and open to all Addressees of others to Him; but above all, one who had a constant Eye to Justice. But the after account of his Actions will best illustrate him as to these Particulars.

Titus finding that as well *Sulpitius*, as *Publius*, who had been his Predecessors in that Command, had not taken the Field against the *Macedonians* till late; and when their Consulships were on the point of expiring; and then too set their Hands but tenderly to the War, but stood skirmishing and scouting here and there for Passes and Provisions, and never came to close fighting with *Philip*: He thought it not meet to trifle away a Year, as they did, at home, in Ostentation of their new-gotten Honours, and in the Administration of Civil Affairs; and after, in the close of the Year, to betake themselves to the Army, a meer artifice to eke out their Dignity and Government a Year longer; acting the Consul in the First, and the General in the Latter. But *Titus* was withal infinitely desirous to employ his Authority with effect upon the War; which made him slight those Home Honours and Prerogatives. Requesting therefore of the Senate, that his Brother *Lucius* might go Admiral of the Navy, and taking with him three thousand gallant and stout Men, as so many sure Cards, which he drew out of Those who, under *Scipio*, had defeated *Asdrubal* in *Iberia*, and *Hannibal* in *Africa*, he got safe into *Epirus*; and finding *Publius* encamp'd with his Army over-against *Philip*, who had long made good the Pass over the River *Apfus*, and the Straits there; *Publius* not having been able, for the natural strength of the Place, to effect any thing upon him: *Titus* therefore takes upon him the Conduct of the Army, and having dismissed *Publius*, begins with inquiring into the Nature of the Country.

The Country is no less inaccessible and impregnable than the craggy Rocks of *Tempe*, but falls short
of

of that goodly Ornament of Trees, that verdant Prospect of the Woods; it lacks *Tempe's* pleasant Fields and Walks at the foot of it; for the *Apfus* (falling from those great and lofty Mountains, which, standing as a mighty Bank on each side the River, make a deep and large Channel in the midst) is not unlike the River *Peneus*, either for the swiftness of its Current, or the manner of it; for it swells over, and covers the foot of those Hills, insomuch that there's left only a cragg'd narrow Path cut out hard by the Stream, not easily passable at any time for an Army, but not at all when guarded by the *Enemy*. There were Some, therefore, who would fain have had *Titus* fetch a Compass through *Dassaretis*, along the River *Lycas*, which was a passable and easie Tract. But He fearing if he should engage himself too far from the Sea, into barren and untill'd Countries, and *Philip* should decline fighting, he might, through want of Provisions, be constrain'd to march back again to the Sea-side without effecting any thing, as his Predecessor had done before him; This put him upon a Resolution of forcing his way over the Mountains. But *Philip* having possess'd himself of them with his Army, shower'd down his Darts and Arrows from all parts about the *Romans* Ears. Sharp were the Skirmishes, and Many fell wounded and slain on both sides, and small appearance there was of thus ending the War. When some of the Men, who fed their Cattle thereabouts, came to *Titus* with a Discovery, that there was a round-about Way, which the *Enemy* neglected to guard; through which they undertook to conduct his Army, and to bring them within three Days at farthest to the top of the Hills: and to gain the surer Credit with him, they alledged that *Charops* of *Machara* was not only privy unto, but would make good all they had promis'd. (This *Charops* was at that time Prince of *Epirus*,

Epirus, and a Well-willer to the *Romans*, and one that gave them assistance, but under-hand, for fear of *Philip*.) *Titus*, crediting the Intelligence, sent away a Captain with four thousand Foot and three hundred Horse: These Herdsmen were their Guides, but kept in Bonds. In the Day-time they lay still under the Covert of the hollow and woody Places, but in the Night they march'd by Moon-light (for the Moon was then at full.) *Titus* having detach'd off this Party, lay still afterwards with his main Body, unless it were that he sometimes gall'd and incommoded the Enemy's Camp, by shooting up amongst them.

But when the Day arrived, on which Those who stole round were expected upon the Top of the Hill, he drew up his Forces early into Battalia, as well the light-arm'd as the heavy, and dividing them into three parts, Himself led the Van, marching his Men along the Bank, up the narrowest point of those Straits, darted at by the *Macedonians*, and engaging amidst those Rocks hand to hand with all his Assaultants. Whilst the other two Squadrons, on either side of him, with a transcendent Alacrity and Courage, clinging to the Rocks, as if they had grown to them, contended all they could to come to Action. But when the Sun was up, a thin Smoak discovered it self rising afar off, (like Mists that usually hang upon the Hills,) but unperceiv'd by the Enemy, because it was behind them, (for it came from the Troops who had already gain'd the Tops of the Hills) and the *Romans* as yet under a Doubt and Suspence in the Toil and Difficulty they were in, construed their Hopes according to their Desires. But as it grew thicker and thicker, spreading Darkness over the Air, and mounting to a greater height, they no longer doubted but it was the Fiery-signal of their Companions, whereupon they gave a mighty Shout, and climbing up stoutly
and

and courageously, they drave the Enemy into the most craggy places; in the interim Those behind the Enemy echoed back their Acclamations from the top of the Mountain. Quickly then did the *Macedonians* fly with all the Heels they could make; there fell not more than two thousand of them, for the difficulties of the Place allowed not a long and close Pursuit. But the *Romans* pillaged their Camp, seiz'd upon their Wealth and Slaves, and becoming absolute Masters of those Straits, travers'd over all *Epirus*; but with such Order and Discipline, with such Temperance and Moderation, that though they were far from the Sea, at a great distance from their Vessels, and stinted of their monthly allowance of Corn, and the like Provisions, and wanting the Opportunities of Markets to furnish themselves from; yet plunder'd they not the Country, which had Provisions enough of all sorts in it. For *Titus* receiving Intelligence that *Philip* rather fled than march'd through *Thessaly*, that he forc'd the Inhabitants from the Towns to take shelter in the Mountains, that the Towns themselves he burnt down, that a great part of their Goods, which for the Quantity or Cumberfomness of them they could not carry with them, was given up as Plunder to his Troops; insomuch that the whole Country in a manner was quitted to the *Roman Army*: He therefore was very desirous, and intreated his Soldiers, that they would pass thro' it as their own, as a Place put into their Hands; and indeed they quickly perceived by the Event, what Benefit they derived from that Orderliness. For they no sooner set Foot in *Thessaly*, but the Cities surrender to him; and the *Grecians*, within the *Pyle*, did perfectly long for, and were quite transported with a Zeal of committing themselves into the hands of *Titus*. The *Acheans* not only broke their League with *Philip*, but, at the same time, voted to join with the *Romans*

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mans in actual Arms against him. As for the *Opuntines*; the *Ætolians* (who tho' they then acted with a mighty Forwardness and Valour in Confederacy with the *Romans*) did strongly solicit Them to put their City under Their Protection, (1) but they embrac'd not the Proposition; but sending for *Titus*, they intrusted and committed themselves to Him.

It is reported of *Pyrrhus*, that when at the first from an adjacent Hill or Watch-Tower, which gave him a full Prospect of the *Roman* Army, he descry'd them so orderly drawn up, he should openly declare, "he espied no Barbarity in the *Barbarians* Ranks. All that came near *Titus*, could not chuse but say as much of him, at their first view: For They who had been told by the *Macedonians* of an Invader at the Head of a *Barbarian* Army, carrying every where Slavery and Destruction on his Sword's Point; when in lieu of such an one, they meet a Man, in the Flower of his Age, of a graceful Aspect, and full of Humanity, a *Grecian* in his Voice and Language, and a Lover of true Honour, they were most wonderfully pleas'd and satisfied in him; and when they left him, they fill'd the Cities and all Places where they came with a Value and Esteem for him; as reckoning they had now got a Leader to Liberty. And when afterwards *Philip* made as if he would condescend to Terms of Peace, *Titus* came, and made a Tender to him of Peace and Friendship, upon Condition that the *Grecians* be left to their own Laws and Liberties, and that he withdraw his Garrisons. This he refused to comply with. But now after these easie Proposals, the general Vogue of All, even of the Favouers and Partisans of *Philip*, was, that the *Romans* came not to fight against, but for the *Grecians*, and against the *Macedonians*.

(1) The *Opuntines* refus'd to receive a Garrison of the *Ætolians*, tho' they had declared for the *Romans*, because they knew them to be a faithless inconstant People, and therefore they would not trust them.

As for the rest of Greece, All clos'd with him in a yielding peaceable way.

As he march'd into *Boetia*, without committing the least Act of Hostility, the Nobility and chief Men of *Thebes* came out of their City to meet him. These *Thebans*, by the Influence of (1) *Brachyllas* and his Faction, favour'd the *Macedonian* State, but however complimented and paid their Honour and Deference to *Titus*; for they were, yet, at Amity with both Parties. *Titus* receiv'd them in the most obliging and courteous manner, but kept going gently on, questioning and inquiring of them, after This and That, and sometimes entertaining them with Narratives, amusing them on purpose that such of his Soldiers as were behind might come up with him. Thus passing easily on, He and the *Thebans* came together into their City, not much to their Satisfaction: But to deny him entrance they durst not, for a good competent number of his Men followed him in. *Titus* still proceeded by way of Address to them, as if he had not had the City at his Mercy, and persuaded them to take in with the *Roman* Interests. King *Attalus* joined with him in the same Requests, pressing the *Thebans* so to do. But *Attalus* being ambitious to give *Titus* a Specimen of his Rhetorical Faculty beyond what, it seems, his Age could bear, a Dizziness or Flux of Rheum surprising him in the midst of his Speech, he swooned away, and, being not long after conveyed by Ship into *Asia*, died there. As for the *Boetians*, they sided with the *Romans*.

But now when *Philip* sent an Embassy to *Rome*, *Titus* dispatch'd away Agents on his part too, to

(1) It should be *Brachyllas*, for great stickler for *Philip*. He was so *Polybius* calls him whenever he declar'd General of the *Boetians*, has Occasion to mention him. This but was in the end assassinated by *Brachyllas*, was one of the most six Men, *Xenippus* being at the powerful Men in *Boetia*, and a Head of them.

solicited the Senate to decree him a Continuance in his Command, if they did so to the War; or if they determin'd an End to That, that He might have the Honour of striking up the Peace. For having a great Itch after Glory, his Fear was, that if another General were commission'd to carry on the War, the Honour even of what was past would be lost to him; but his Friends transacted matters so well on his behalf, that *Philip* could obtain none of his Demands, and the Management of the War was continued in *Flaminius's* Hands. He no sooner received the Senate's Determination in this point, and the Ratification of his Authority; but, big with Hopes, he marched directly into *Thessaly*, to engage *Philip*. His Army consisted of twenty six thousand Men; Whereof the *Ætolians* furnished six thousand of the Foot, and four hundred of the Horse. The Forces of *Philip* were much about the same Number. In this Eagerness to encounter they advanced each against the other, 'till Both drew near unto *Scorussa*, where they resolv'd to hazard a Battel. The Vicinity of two such Puissant Armies had not the Effect that might have been easily supposed, to strike into the Generals a mutual Terror of each other, but rather inspir'd them with Ardour and Ambition; on the *Romans* part to be the Conquerors of *Macedon*; a Name which was Famous and Formidable amongst them for Strength and Valour, on the score of *Alexander's* Grandeur: Whilst the *Macedonians* on the other hand, esteeming of the *Romans* as another-guess Enemy than the *Persians*, hoped, if Victory stood on their side, to make the Name of *Philip* shine brighter in the Annals of Fame than That of *Alexander*. *Titus* therefore pressed and incited his Soldiers to play the part of Valiant and Daring Men, for that they were now to enter the Lists upon the most glorious Theatre of the World, *Greece*, and with Champions, that

stand in Competition with the Foremost for Valour. *Philip*, on the other side, began an Harangue to his Men, as is usual to do just before an Engagement, to whet and call up their Courage: And in order to his being the better heard (whether it were merely accidental, or out of an unseasonable haste, not observing what he did;) he mounted upon an Eminence without their Camp, (1) which prov'd indeed a Burying place. *Philip* himself was not a little concern'd for the strange Damp and Despondency that seiz'd his Army at the Unluckiness of the Omen, in so much that all that day he kept in his Camp, and declined fighting. But on the morrow, as Day came on, after a slaby wet Night, the Clouds changing into a Mist, fill'd all the Plain with a mighty Darkeness; and a foggy thick Air descending, by that time it was full Day, from the adjacent Mountains betwixt the two Camps, cover'd their Stations from each other's view: Whereupon the Parties sent out on either side, Some for an Ambuscade, Some for Discovery, falling in upon one another, quickly after they were thus detach'd from their main Bodies, began the Fight at the narrow Passage called *Cyncephalæ* (that is *Dog's Heads*, which are sharp tops of Hills that stand thick and close to one another, and have gained the Name from the likeness of their Shape to a Dog's Head.) Now many turns and changes hapning, as may well be expected in such uneven Passages, sometimes hot in the pursuit, and sometimes the same Party flying as fast; each General commanded out Succours and Recruits from their Camp, as they saw their own pressed or giving ground, 'till at length the Heavens clearing up, let them into a fairer Prospect of all that passed; upon which the whole Armies became engaged.

(1) *Polybius* takes no manner of notice of this Particular; and *Livy*, inserting that superstitious Reflection, who tells us that *Philip* mounted on.

Philip who was in the Right Wing, from the advantage of the hanging Ground which he had, pour'd down his Forces upon the *Romans* with such briskness, that the stoutest of them could not stand the roughness of the Shock, nor bear up against the pressure of such close-compacted Files. But the Left Wing being, by reason of the hilliness of the Place, more shatter'd and broken, *Titus* observing it, and cherishing little or no hopes on that side where his Own gave Ground, made in all haste to the Other, and there charged in upon the *Macedonians*, who in regard of the Inequality and Roughness of the Country, could not keep their Body intire, nor line their Ranks to any great Depth (which is the principal Point of their Strength) but were forced to fight Man for Man, under heavy and unweildy Armour: For the *Macedonian Phalanx* is, for its Strength, like some Masterless Beast; whilst 'tis embody'd into One as it were, and kept lock'd together, Target to Target, All is in a piece; but, if once broken, every single Soldier that compos'd it, loses of his own private Strength; the Nature of their Armour is such; and besides, each of them is strong, rather, as among the rest he makes a part of the Whole, than in his single Person. (1) When These were routed, Some gave chase to the Flyers, Others charg'd those *Macedonians* in the Flanks who were still fighting; so that the conquering Wing was quickly shatter'd, put to flight, and threw down their Arms. There were then slain no less than eight thousand, and about five thousand were taken Prisoners. The *Aetolians* were the main occasion that *Philip* himself got safe off. For whilst the *Romans* were yet in pursuit, These fell to ravaging and plundering the Camp to that degree, that

(1) I wonder *Plutarch* takes no notice of the Elephants, which *Flaminius* made use of with good Success in this Engagement. They are mention'd both by *Polybius* and *Livy*.

when the Others return'd they found no Booty in it. This bred at first hard Words, Quarrels and Misunderstandings betwixt them. But ever after they gall'd Titus more (1) in ascribing the Victory to Themselves, and prepossessing the Grecians with Reports on their own behalf; insomuch that their Poets, and the Vulgar sort in the Ballads and Songs that were sung or written of this Action, still rank'd the *Ætolians* foremost: But the Verses that were most in every Body's Mouth were these:

Without a Tear, without a Sigh,

Without a Monument or Grave,

Here, Passenger, thou mayst descry

On heaps we thrice ten thousand lie;

Alas! no Burial we could have.

Ætolian Prowess was our Overthrow,

And Latian Bands

Which Titus did command

From the broad Italian Strand

Have laid us low.

Sad Fate of Macedon! Philip's daring Soul,

Which Lion like, when first he took the Field,

Thought that he might the Universe controul;

But when, alas! he once began to yield,

Like Stags pursu'd, he fled away,

But far more swift and more afraid than they.

This was of *Alcaeus* his composing, which he did in a Jeer and Mockery to *Philip*, though indeed he be-

(1) They could not with Justice lay claim to the Whole, but it is certain they very much contributed to it, for *Polybius* assures us, that in the first Skirmish, which ended in a general Engagement, the *Macedonians* charged the *Romans* with that Fury, that they drove them from the Tops of the Mountains they had just gain'd; and if the *Ætolian* Horse had not made a Stand, the *Romans* must have been put to flight.

lyed him in it, as to the Number of the Slain. However being frequently repeated, and by almost every body, *Titus* was more nettled at it than *Philip*; for the latter play'd upon *Alceus* again, annexing the following Verses by way of Elegy upon him.

*What, Traveller! on yonder Hill you see,
A Lofty, Barkless, Leafe-less Gallow-Tree,
Stands to reward Alceus's Poetry.*

But such little matters heinously fretted *Titus*, who affected a Reputation among the *Grecians*, and therefore he managed all After-Occurrences by Himself, and had but a very slender Regard for the *Ætolians*. This stuck in their Stomachs; and when *Titus* listened to terms of Accommodation, and had admitted of an Embassy upon the Proffers of the *Macedonian King*, these *Ætolians* made it their Business to divulge it through all the Cities of *Greece*, (1) that he sold *Philip* his Peace, and that at a time when it was in his hand to have cut up all the Springs and Roots of War, and have laid waste that Empire which first put the Yoke of Servitude upon *Greece*. But whilst, with These and the like Rumours, the *Ætolians* laboured to shake the *Roman Confederates*; *Philip* making Overtures of Submission of Himself and Kingdom to the Discretion of *Titus* and the *Romans*, put an End to those Jealousies; as *Titus*, by accepting them, did to the War: For he re-instated *Philip* in his Kingdom of *Macedon*, but enjoined him at the same time to quit *Greece*, and fined him in a thousand Talents; he

(1) *Polybius* tells us that even in those early Days it was become a Custom among the *Greeks* to do nothing for nothing, and that they were not proof against Bribes, or Presents. The *Ætolians* therefore judging of *Flaminius* by Themselves, could not imagine that his Complaisance for *Philip* could be other than the Effect of Corruption.

took also from him all his Shipping, save ten Vessels, and sent away *Demetrius*, one of his Sons, Hostage to *Rome*, improving that short time of the Treaty to the best advantage could then be made of it, and by way of Provision against an after-clap. For (1) *Hannibal* the *African*, a professed Enemy to the *Roman* Name, an Exile from his own Country, and not long since arrived at King *Antiochus's* Court, lay at that Prince (2) not to be wanting to the Good Fortune that had been hitherto so propitious to his Affairs: For his Arms as yet had never wanted a Success, and the Grandeur of his Actions had purchased him the Surname of *GREAT*; in so much that he began to level his aim at the universal Monarchy, but above all, to make some attempt upon the *Romans*. (3) Had not therefore *Titus* upon a Principle of Prudence and Foresight lent an Ear to Peace, but instead of that, *Antio-*

(1) Sure *Plutarch* must be mistaken here, for *Hannibal* was not at that time in the Court of *Antiochus*. The Peace with *Philip*, and the Liberty of *Greece*, proclaimed by the Voice of a Herald in the *Isthmian* Games, happened in the first Year of the hundred and forty sixth *Olympiad*, during the Consulship of *L. Furius Purpureo*, and *M. Cl. Marcellus*; and it was not 'till the Year following; under the Consulate of *Cato* and *Val. Flaccus*, that *Hannibal* perceiving the *Romans* had sent an Embassy to *Carthage* with Complaints against him, withdrew privately in the Night-time, and embarking the next Morning at *Thapsos* he arrived the same Day at the Isle of *Cercina*, where he found several Merchant Ships in the Harbour, it being then about Midsummer. For fear any of the

Merchants should go and inform at *Carthage* that they had seen *Hannibal* at *Cercina*, he invited them all to a very magnificent Entertainment, which he lengthen'd out 'till the Night was well advanced, and the Hour fit for his Purpose. Then he escaped to *Tyre*, where he rested for a few Days. From *Tyre* he sailed to *Antioch*, where missing of *Antiochus* he first waited on his Son, and then followed him to *Ephesus*, where he found him. *Liv. lib. xxxiii.*

(2) He never could have expected a more favourable Conjunction, wherein to have attack'd the *Romans* whilst *Philip* was at War with them: and the dissatisfied *Aetolians* were ready to declare against them.

(3) *Polybius* tells us *Flaminius* was induced to strike up a Peace

chus

chus had found *Philip* holding the *Romans* in play in *Greece*; and These Two the most Puissant and Warlike Princes of that Age, had confederated for the common Interest against the *Roman State*, *Rome* might once more have run as great a Risque, and been afresh reduced to no less Extremities than she had felt under *Hannibal*. But now *Titus* opportunely clapping in this Peace between the Wars, pruning away thereby the present danger, before That which was but in expectation had sprouted out; He at once disappointed *Antiochus* of his first Hopes, and *Philip* of his last Refuge. In the mean time the ten Commissioners delegated to *Titus* from the Senate, advised him to restore the rest of *Greece* to their Liberty, but that *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias* should be kept garrisoned for a Bulwark and Protection against *Antiochus*; but the *Ætolians*, always noted for Calumny, took from thence an Occasion to shake the Faith of the Cities in an eminent degree, for they called upon *Titus* to knock off the Shackles of *Greece*, (for so *Philip* used to term the aforesaid three Cities.) They asked the *Grecians*, Whether it were not matter of much Consolation to them, that, though their Chains weighed heavier, yet they were now neater and better polished than formerly? Whether *Titus* were not deservedly admired by them as their Benefactor, who had unshackled the Feet of *Greece*, and tied her up by the Neck? *Titus* vexed hereat, made it his Request to the Senate, and at last prevailed in it, that the Garrisons in these Cities should be dismantled, that so the *Grecians* might be no longer Debtors to him, for a partial but entire Favour. The *Isthmian*

with *Philip* upon the Advice he | was advancing towards *Europe*,
had received, that *Antiochus* was | And he was afraid lest *Philip* might
marching out of *Syria* at the Head | lay hold on that Conjunction to
of a powerful Army, and that he | continue the War.

Games were now renewed, and Multitudes sat croud-
 ed in the Theatre to see the Exercises; for Greece,
 who of late Days not only found Respite from
 War, and was in a full Possession of Peace, but en-
 tertained farther hopes of regaining her Liberty too,
 made Holyday for it: As These were celebrating, Si-
 lence was commanded by sound of Trumpet; and
 the Cryer, stepping forth amidst the Spectators,
 makes Proclamation, "That the Roman Senate,
 " and *Titus Quintus* the Proconsular General, having
 " vanquished King *Philip* and the *Macedonians*, re-
 " stored the *Corinthians*, *Locrians*, *Phocæans*, *Eu-*
 " *bæans*, *Athæans*, *Pthiotæans*, *Magnetians*, *Thef-*
 " *salians*, and *Perræbians* to their own Coun-
 " try, Laws, and Liberty; took off all Imposi-
 " tions upon them, and withdrew their Garrisons
 " thence" At the first, Many heard not at all, and
 Others not distinctly what was said; but an odd kind
 of Bustle and Stir there was in the Theatre, Some
 wondering, Some asking, Some calling out to the
 Cryer, *Repeat that again, Repeat that again.* When
 therefore fresh Silence was made, the Cryer raising
 his Voice, his Speech more easily reached the
 Ears of his Company. The Shout, which in that
 Ecstasie of Joy they gave, was so incredibly great
 that it was heard to Sea. The People all jumped upon
 their Legs, there was no farther regard to the Diver-
 sions they came for, but all fell a leaping and dancing,
 and hugging one another: And all salute *Titus* with
 the Title of *Saviour and Defender of Greece.* The
 Strength there is in Voices, and the many Rela-
 tions we have of the wonderful Effects of it, were
 seen verified upon this occasion: For the Crows
 that were then accidently flying over the Stage,
 fell down dead upon the Shout. The breaking the
 Air must needs be the Cause of it, for the Voices
 being numerous, and the Acclamation violent, and
 the parts of the Air separated from each other, they
 could

could no longer give Support to the Birds, but let them tumble, which would be the Case of any one that should attempt to walk upon a *Vacuum*, or such empty space, which affords nothing to set the Foot upon; unless we should rather imagine these Crows to fall and die, shot with the Noise as with a Dart. And withal, there may possibly be a circular agitation of the Air, acquiring (like Marine *Vortexes*) an additional strength from the Excess of its Fluctuation which whirls it round.

But for *Titus*, (the Sports being now quite at an end) so beset was he on every side, and by such Multitudes, that had he not, spying the Throng and Concourse of the People, timely withdrawn, he would scarce, it is thought, have ever got clear of them. But when they had tired themselves with Acclamations all about his Pavillon, and Night was now come, whatever Friends or Fellow-Citizens they saw, they fell embracing and hugging them, and from That to feasting, and carousing together. At which, no doubt, redoubling then their Joy, they begin to recollect and talk of the State of *Greece*, "What Wars she had run through in defence of her Liberty, yet was never perhaps Mistress of a more settled or grateful one, than what the Arms of Others had put into her hands: That by the Bounty of *Titus* She now bears away without, almost, one drop of Blood, without the mournful effects of War, the most glorious of Rewards, and best worth the contending for: That Courage and Wisdom are indeed Rarities amongst Men; but of all that is good, a just Man is the most scarce: For such as *Agessilaus*, *Lyfander*, *Nicias*, and *Alcibiades*, knew how to play the General's part, how to manage a War, how to bring off their Men victorious by Land and Sea; but how to employ that Success to generous and honest purposes, they were far

" far enough to seek. For should a Man except
 " the Atchievement at *Marathon*, the Sea Fight
 " at *Salamis*, the Engagements at *Platæa*, and *Ther-*
 " *mopylæ*, *Cymon's* Exploits at *Eurymedon*, and on
 " the Coasts of *Cyprus*, *Greece* fought all her other
 " Battels against and to enslave her self. She ere-
 " cted all her Trophies to her own Shame and Mi-
 " sery, and was brought to Ruin and Desolation
 " by the Villany and Ambition of her Rulers. But
 " a Foreign Nation, who could at best be supposed
 " to retain only some faint sparks of Remembrance
 " of their ancient Descent from us; a Nation from
 " whom it may be wondred that *Greece* should reap
 " any design'd Benefit, or indeed a good Word;
 " yet These are They who have retrieved *Greece* from
 " her severest Pressures, and deepest Extremities,
 " have rescued her out of the Hands of insulting
 " Lords and Tyrants, and reinstated her in her
 " former Liberties.

Thus they entertained their Tongues and
 Thoughts, whilst *Titus's* Actions made good what
 had been proclaimed: For he immediately dispatch-
 ed away *Lentulus* to *Asia*, to set the *Bergillians* free;
Titillius to *Thrace*, to see the Garrisons of *Philip* re-
 moved out of the Towns and Islands there; *Pub-*
lius Julius set sail in order to the treating with *An-*
tiocbus about the Freedom of the *Grecians* under
 Him. *Titus* Himself passed on to *Chalcis*, and after
 sailing thence to *Magnesia*, he dismantled the Gar-
 risons there, and surrendered the Government into
 the People's Hands. At *Argos* he was chosen Judge
 or Moderator of the *Nemean Games*, and did his
 part in the Management of that Solemnity extraor-
 dinary well. There he made a second Publication
 by the Cryer of Liberty to the *Grecians*: And still
 through all the Cities as he passed, he pressed upon
 them conformity to their Laws, a constant practice
 of Justice, Unity and Friendship One towards Ano-
 ther.

ther. The Seditious among them he quelled, the Banished he brought home; and in short, his Conquest over the *Macedonians*, gave him not a more sensible pleasure, than to find himself successful in reconciling *Greeks* with *Greeks*, (1) so that their Liberty seem'd now the least part of the Kindness he conferred upon them.

The Story goes, that when *Lycurgus* the Orator had rescued *Xenocrates* the Philosopher from the Collectors who were hurrying him away to Prison for the *Metæcia*, (Taxes which Strangers residing at *Athens* were to pay) and prosecuted them at Law for the Affront offered to the Philosopher, he afterwards meeting the Children of *Lycurgus*, *Children*, says he, *I am not behind-hand with your Father in point of Gratitude; for all the World cries him up for what he did for me.* But the Returns which attended *Titus Quintius* and the *Romans* for their Beneficence to the *Greeks*, terminated not in empty Praises only; for these Proceedings gained them a deserved Credit and Trust in the World, and opened a new door to Empire. For now many Nations not only admitted of the Governours set over them by *Rome*, but even sent and entreated to be under their Protection. Neither was this done by the Populacy alone, by some petty Commonwealths, or single Cities; but Kings oppress'd by Kings cast themselves into their protecting hand. Insomuch that in a very short time, (tho' perchance not without the Finger of God in it) all the World did Homage to them. *Titus* also valued himself most upon the Liberty he restored to *Greece*; for having dedicated Silver Targets together with his own Shield, to *Apollo* at

(1) What a sublime Sense do these Words carry with them! Liberty, which has been ever esteemed as the greatest of Blessings, seemed however to the *Greeks* as one of the smallest Be-

nefits They had received at the Hands of *Flamininus*; for Liberty would have been insignificant to them, if at the same time Justice and Unanimity had not been restored among them,

Delphi, he inscribed upon them the following Verses.

*Triumph, ye Spartan Kings, ye Royal Twins,
The equal Sons of Tyndarus and Jove,
Who in swift Horsemanship have plac'd your Love.
Titus, sprung from the Great Aeneas' Loins,
Presents to you of Grecian Progeny,
The best of Gifts, a regain'd Liberty.*

He offered also to Apollo a Golden Crown, with this Inscription on it:

*This Golden Crown upon thy Locks Divine,
Thou bright Latona's Son, did Titus place;
Titus, the Leader of th' Aenean Race,
Bestow on him some equal Strength to Thine,
Thou distant-striking God! that he
May share a Glory with thy Deity.*

Now hath the same thing twice betided the Grecians in the City of Corinth: for Titus Then, and Nero again in our days, Both at Corinth, and Boeth alike, at the Celebration of the Isthmian Games, permitted the Grecians to enjoy their own Laws and Liberty. The Former, (as hath been said) proclaimed it by the Cryer; but Nero did it in the publick Meeting-place, from the Tribunal, in an Oration he there made to the People. But This happen'd a good while after. Thus after This commenced a gallant and just War upon Nabis, that most profligate and villanous Tyrant of the Lacedaemonians; but herein at long-run he fail'd the Expectations of the Grecians. For when he had an Opportunity of taking him, he industriously slipt it, and struck up a Peace with him, leaving Sparta to bewail an undeserv'd Slavery. (1) Whether it were

(1) Livy toucheth upon this Honour of Flaminius; and the ex- Reason, but at the sametime men- alted Character of the Man makes tions Others that are more for the it reasonable for us to incline in Judgment

were that he fear'd, if the War should be protracted, *Rome* would send a new General who might rob him of the Glory of it; or that the Emulation and Envy of *Philopomen's* Wreaths, (a Man that had signaliz'd himself among the *Grecians* upon all other occasions, but in that War especially had done Wonders, both for matter of Courage and Counsel, one whom the *Grecians* celebrated in their Theatres, and put into the same ballance of Glory with *Titus*;) touch'd him to the Quick: For he scorn'd that an *Arcadian*, a Captain and Leader in a few Rencounters upon the Confines of his Country, should be look'd on by Them with an equal Admiration to the *Roman Consul*, who warr'd on the behalf of all *Greece*. But besides, *Titus* was not without (1) an Apology too for what he did, (to wit) that he put an end to the War only then, when he foresaw that the Tyrant's Destruction must have been attended with a sweeping train of Ruin upon the other *Spartans*.

The *Achaens* indeed decreed, and studied, to honour *Titus* in many things, but none seem'd to come

Judgment to the more favourable, they to oppose to so powerful an

Side. Winter was coming on, and *Sparta* was to be besieged, which might hold out a considerable time; the Enemy's Country could supply him with nothing, for All had been laid waste; so that Provisions were to be sent for a great way off, and it would be very difficult to get Convoys. Besides *Villius*, who was just return'd from the Court of *Antiochus*, brought Advice, that the Peace with that Prince was not to be depended upon, for that he was already enter'd *Europe* with a Fleet, and Land Army more numerous than Any before. If therefore a Rupture should happen whilst the *Romans* were employ'd in the Siege of *Sparta*, what Forces had

Enemy? (1) *Livy* makes use of this Reason too. *Flaminius*, he saith, confess'd, that he ought not to have listen'd to any Overtures for a Peace, if it cou'd have been rejected without the entire Ruin of *Sparta*, but since the War cou'd not be continued without the total Loss of that City, he thought it better to leave the Tyrant in it, entirely broken as he was, and dispoil'd of all possible means of doing harm, than to cause his Death by methods that would be too violent for her in this Operation, and leave her this only melancholy Consolation, that she had not fail'd but in attempting to recover her Liberty.

up to the height of the Actions [that merited them, unless it were one Present they made him, which affected and pleas'd him beyond all the rest, and it was This: The *Romans*, who in the War with *Hannibal* had the Misfortune to be taken Captives, were sold about here and there, and dispers'd into Slavery; twelve hundred in number, were at that time in *Greece*. That turn of their Fortune always rendred them Objects of Compassion, but more particularly then, as well it might, when Some met their Sons, Some their Brothers, Some their Acquaintance, Slaves, Freemen, Captives, Conquerors. *Titus*, tho' deeply concern'd on their behalf, yet took None of them from their Masters by constraint. But the *Achaens* redeeming them at five Pounds a Man, brought them all together into one place, and made a Present of them to Him, as he was just going on Ship-board; so that he now sail'd with a full Gale of Satisfaction; his generous Actions procured him as generous Returns, worthy of so brave a Man, and so intimate a Lover of their Country. This seem'd the most pompous part of all his succeeding Triumph; for these redeemed *Romans*, (as it is the Custom of Slaves upon their Manumission, (1) to shave their Heads, and wear a peculiar kind of Caps) follow'd in that Habit *Titus's* Triumphant Chariot: But to add to the Glory of this Show, there were the *Grecian* Helmets, the *Macedonian* Targets and Javelins, and the rest of the Spoils born along in Pomp and Ostentation before him; besides vast Sums of Money; for, as *Itanus* relates

(1) This was the constant Custom on that Occasion, for which Reason *Sofia* in the first Scene of *Plautus* his *Amphitryon* saith

*Ut ego hodie raso capite calvus,
capiam pileum.*

*That to-day I may have my Head
shaven, and put on the Cap*
(of Liberty.) This Ceremony was perform'd in the Temple of *Feronia*, who was the Patroness of Slaves, or rather the Goddess of Freedom.

it,

it, there was carried in his Triumph three thousand seven hundred thirteen Pounds weight of Massie Gold, forty three thousand two hundred and seventy of Silver, fourteen thousand five hundred and fourteen Pieces of coin'd Gold, called *Philipicks*, all this over and above the one thousand Talents which *Philip* owed, and which the *Romans* were afterwards prevail'd upon, but chiefly by the Agency and Mediation of *Titus*, to remit to *Philip*, withal declaring him their Ally and Confederate, and sending him home his Hostage-Son.

After This, *Antiochus* made an Expedition into Greece attended with a numerous Fleet, and powerful Army, solliciting the Cities there to Sedition and Rebellion: The *Ætolians* did abet and second him; for they of a long time had born a Grudge and secret Enmity to the *Romans*, and now suggested as a Cause and Pretext for the War, that He came to bring the *Grecians* Liberty; when alas, they never less wanted it, for they were free before; but, for want of a more smooth and specious pretence, they put into his Mouth a Word of the nearest and dearest Import. The *Romans*, in the Interim (fearing from Them an Insurrection and Revolt; and, from Him, the Reputation of his Puissance) dispatch'd away the Consul *Manius Attilius* to take the charge of the War, with regard to *Antiochus*; and *Titus*, as Embassador, out of regard to the *Grecians*; Some of whom he no sooner saw but he confirm'd them in the *Roman* Interests: Others who began to falter (like a Physician that prescribes Remedies in time, before the Disease seize the Vitals) he underprop'd and kept their Affections and Good-will they had born to him, from warping. Some few there were whom the *Ætolians* were before-hand with, and had so wholly tainted and perverted, that he could do no good on them; yet These, howsoever angry and exasperated he was against them before, he saved and protected, when the Engagement was

over. For *Antiochus*, receiving a defeat at *Thermopylae*, not only fled the Field, but hoisted Sail instantly for *Asia*. *Manius* the Consul laid Siege Himself to Some of the *Ætolians*; Others he allowed King *Philip* to ravage and waste at his Pleasure; for instance, the *Dolopi* and *Magnetians* on one hand, the *Athamanti* and *Aperanti* on the Other, were harassed and ransack'd by the *Macedonians*, whilst *Manius* laid *Heraclea* waste, and besieg'd *Naupactus*, then in the Hands of the *Ætolians*. But *Titus* still with a commiserating care for *Greece*, made over from *Peloponnesus* to the Consul: At first he fell a (1) chiding him, that the Victory should be owing alone to his Arms, and he to suffer *Philip* to bear away the Prize and Profit of the War: He to sit lazily wreaking his Anger upon a single Town, whilst the *Macedonians* over-ran several Nations and Kingdoms. *Titus* happen'd to stand then in view of the Besieged, they no sooner spyed him out, but they called to him from their Wall, they stretched forth their Hands, they supplicated and intreated him; at that time he said not a Word more, by way of answer to Them or otherwise, but turning himself about with Tears in his Eyes, he went his way. Some little while after he discoursed the matter so effectually with *Manius*, that he wrought him off from his Passion, and prevail'd with him to give a Truce

(1) *Manius Acilius*, saith he, know you not what hath passed, or knowing it do you think the Commonwealth is not highly interested in it? These Words having rais'd the Consul's Attention, he said to *Flaminius*. What is it you would be at? Do you not see, continued *Flaminius*, that ever since the Defeat of *Antiochus*, you have been spending your time in besieging two Places, not considering that the Year, with which your Authority will determine, is expiring, and that in the mean time *Philip*, without so much as setting his Eyes upon the Army of the Enemy, has subdued not only Towns, but whole Nations, *Athamania*, *Perrhebia*, and *Dolopia*. Tho' it is not so much our Interest to weaken the *Ætolians*, as it is that *Philip* should not be suffer'd to make himself too powerful; and it is a Shame to us, that You and Your Forces have not receiv'd, as the Fruits of the Victory, so many Towns, as *Philip* is already possess'd of Provinces. *Liv. Lib. xxxv. 34.*

and time to the *Ætolians*, to send Deputies to *Rome* to petition the Senate for terms of Moderation. But the hardest Task, and That which put *Titus* to the greatest Plunge, was to intercede with *Manius* for the *Chalcidians*, who had incens'd him on account of a Marriage, which *Antiochus* had solemnized in their City, even whilst the War was on Foot; a Match every way unsuitable as well as unseasonable, for He was far advanced in Years, and the Bride a very Girl; however he was deeply smitten, and charm'd with the Damsel. She was the Daughter of *Cleoptolemus*, and none of the young Ladies there were comparable to her for Beauty: On this occasion, the *Chalcidians* both embrac'd the King's Interests with Zeal and Alacrity, and yielded him their City for his Retreat and Refuge during the War. Thither therefore *Antiochus* made with all speed, when he was routed and fled; and shelter'd himself in *Chalcis*, but without making any stay; for taking this young Lady, and his Money, and Friends with him, away he sail'd to *Asia*. And now *Manius's* Indignation carrying him in all haste against the *Chalcidians*, *Titus* posted after him, endeavouring to assuage and divert the Storm: At length what with much Intreaties to Him, what with a sedulous application to Others of the greatest Quality and Interest in *Rome*, he work'd upon him.

The *Chalcidians* thus deriving their Safety from *Titus*, dedicated to him all the best and most magnificent of their Structures, which they had before consecrated to other Gods, whose Inscriptions may be seen to run thus to this Day. (1) *THE PEO-*

(1) What an Honour was This for *Flamininus* to have his Name associated with Those of the Gods the Saviours, such as *Apollo* and *Hercules*! and in what a polite Manner did that People testify their Gratitude! and that those Testimo-

nies were the Testimonies of a truly grateful People appears from what follows, for their commemorative Sacrifices were continued even for more than two hundred and seventy Years after the Death of *Flamininus*.

The LIFE of

PLE dedicate THIS GYMNASIUM TO TITUS AND TO HERCULES: So again, THE PEOPLE consecrate the place called DELPHINIUM, OR THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO, TO TITUS AND TO APOLLO; and what is yet more, even to our time, there is a Priest of Titus formally elected and declared; besides, they sacrifice to him as to a God, and when their Libations are over, they sing a Song made on Purpose for the Occasion, much of which for the length of it we omit, but shall transcribe That which is contained the close of this Sonnet:

*Roman Faith we all adore,
A Faith so white, a Faith so pure:
By all that's Sacred we our selves adjure
To honour Roman Faith for evermore.
Sing, Muses, sing of mighty Jove,
Sing of Rome's and Titus' Love,
Repeated Io Pœan's too,
All to Roman Faith are due,
O Saviour Titus, and to You.*

Other parts of Greece also heaped Honours upon him suitable to his Merits; but that which conferred Honour on his very Honours, and stamped Sincerity and Truth upon them, was the wonderful Heartiness and Affection they did them with, upon a Sense of that Moderation and Equity that was natural to him. For if he were at any time at variance with any Body upon the account of Business, or in point of Emulation and Honour (as once with *Philopœmen*, and another time with *Diophanes*, Prætor of the *Achæans*) his Resentments went not far, nor did they ever break out into Acts; but when it had vented itself in a freedom of discourse which is usual in publick Debates, there was an end of it. In fine, no Body charges Malice or Bitterness upon his Nature, but Many have imputed Hastiness and

Levity to it; but otherwise he was the most com-
 plaisant, sweet Man, for Conversation, in the
 World; and spoke the most pleasant obliging
 things, with a great deal of Acuteness and Wit.
 For instance, designing once to divert the *Achæans*
 from their Purpose, who had the Conquest of the
 Isle *Zacintus* in their Eye: *It will*, said he, *be as*
dangerous for the Achæans to put their Head out of
Peloponnesus, as it is for a Tortoise to trust His out
of his Shell. Again, when he and *Philip* first met
 to treat of a Cessation and Peace, the latter com-
 plaining that *Titus* came with a mighty Train, but
 Himself came ALONE and unattended: "Yes,
 replies *Titus* smartly, "you have (1) made your self
 "ALONE, by killing your Friends and Relations
 "out of the Way: At another time, *Dinocrates* the
Messenian, having been fuddled at a Merry-meet-
 ing in *Rome*, danced there in a Woman's Habit,
 and the next Day address'd to *Titus* for assistance in
 his Design to get *Messene* out of the *Achæans* Hands.
 "I shall (says he) consider of it, but can't but wonder
 "that You who are enterprizing Designs of that
 "Moment, can find leisure for Feasts and Revels."
 When the Embassadors of *Antiochus* were recount-
 ing to those of *Achæa*, the various multitudes of
 their Royal Master's Forces, and ran over a long Ca-
 talogue of hard and sundry Names that they had,
 "I supp'd once, (says *Titus*) with mine Host, and
 "could not but chide him for that choice of Dishes
 "he had got me; and withal I admir'd whence
 "he had so readily furnished himself with that store
 "and variety; mine Host tells me, Sir, to confess
 "the truth, 'tis all Hog's-meat, but the Sauce and
 "Cookery has made it look like different sorts
 "of Food. My Advice to you is the same, ye Men
 "of *Achæa*, stand no more amazed at *Antiochus's*

(1) *Philip* had been the Death | would extirpate whole Families at
 of Many of them; he was of so | once.
 cruel, and bloody a Nature, that he |

The L I F E of

“ Might, when ye hear them talk of Pike-men, Pioneers, Halberdiers, and the like, for they are All
 “ but *SYRIANS* differently arm'd,

After these his Gallantries perform'd in *Greece*, and that the War with *Antiochus* was at an end; *Titus* was created Censor, (which is the most eminent Office, and in a manner the Top Preferment in the Commonwealth.) The Son of *Marcellus*, who had been five times Consul, was his Colleague. These by vertue of their Office cashier'd four of the Senators, for not having Nobility enough of Birth to qualifie them for the Place: They admitted All that offer'd themselves, to be inroll'd free Denizens of *Rome*, whose Parents had enjoy'd a Freedom before: But This was more by constraint than their own Choice: For *Terentius Leo*, the then Tribune of the People, to spight the Nobility, spurr'd on the Populacy to order it to be done. There were at this time in the City two most eminent and brave Persons, *Scipio Africanus*, and *Marcus Cato*, but there was no good Understanding betwixt them: The former *Titus* made President of the Senate, as a Man of principal Dignity and Worth, but grew an Enemy to *Cato* upon this unlucky Occasion; *Titus* had a Brother, *Lucius Flaminius*, in no respects of a Nature comparable to His, but highly dissolute and licentious in point of Pleasures, and a Scoffer at all Sobriety: There was a Youth whom he loved for a vicious Purpose, and used to be naught with: Him *Lucius* carried with him not only when he had an Army under him; but even when the charge of a Province was committed to him, this Lad still accompanied him thither: One Day at a drinking Bout, the Youngster wantoning with *Lucius*; I love you, Sir, so dearly (says he) that, preferring your Satisfaction before my Own, I have foreborn seeing the Sword-Players, though I have never seen a Man killed in my Life. *Lucius* delighted with what the Boy said, Let not that trouble thee, my dear (say'd he)

he) for if thou hast a Mind to see a Man kill'd, I'll quickly satisfy thy longing; and with that, ordered a condemn'd Man to be fetch'd out of the Prison, and the Executioner to be sent for, and commanded him to strike off the Malefactor's Head in the midst of their Jollity, before they rose from Table. *Valerius Antias* varies the Story a little, in that he tells us *Lucius* did not This to gratify his Boy, but his Miss. But *Livy* out of the Oration of *Cato*, relates it, that a Gaul, who had been a Deserter, coming with his Wife and Children to the Door, *Lucius* took him into the Banqueting Room, and kill'd him with his own Hand, to gratify his Paramour. *Cato*, it is probable, might say This by way of aggravation of the Crime he stood charg'd with: But that the Slain was no such Fugitive, but a Prisoner, and one condemn'd to die, as well *Cicero*, (as Others,) in his Treatise of Old Age, confirms; where he brings in *Cato* Himself, giving that account of the Matter. However This is certain: *Cato* during his Censorship, made a narrow and severe scrutiny into the Senators Lives, in order to the Purging and Reforming the House, and then put *Lucius* out, though he had been Consul. His Brother look'd upon This as a Proceeding that reflected Dishonour upon Himself. Hereupon Both of them came out, and appealed to the People in a suppliant submissive manner, not without Tears in their Eyes, requesting barely that *Cato* might but shew the Reason and the Cause of his fixing such a Stain and Infamy upon so honourable a Family. The Citizens thought it a modest and moderate Request. *Cato* for all This never shrunk for the matter, but out he came, and standing up with his Colleague, interrogated *Titus*, whether he knew the Story of the Treat. *Titus* answering in the Negative, *Cato* gave him a Relation of it, conjuring withal his Brother *Lucius* to say, whether every Syllable of it were not true. *Lucius* made no Reply, whereupon the People adjudg'd the Disgrace just, and suitable to his Demerits, and

waited upon *Cato* home from the Tribunal in great State. But *Titus* still so deeply resented his Brother's degrading, that he struck in with Those who had born a long Grudge to *Cato*; and winning over a major part of the Senate to him, he revok'd and made void all the Contracts, Leases, and Bargains made formerly by *Cato*, relating to the publick Revenues, and stirr'd up many and violent Actions and Accusations against him: But how well, and how like a good Citizen, I know not, for a Person to reserve an inveterate Hatred against a lawful Magistrate, an excellent Commonwealths-man, and in the Cause of a private Man, who stood indeed related to him, but unworthy to be so, and a Man that had but his Desert. But notwithstanding all This, when afterwards a Show was exhibited to the People in the Theatre, the Senators sitting orderly up above as they were wont, *Lucius* was spy'd at the lower end, set in a mean dishonourable place: It made an Impression upon the People, nor could they longer endure the sight, but set a crying, Up, Up, Up, 'till he was got in among those of Consular Dignity, who received him into their Seat. The natural Ambition of *Titus* was well enough look'd upon by the World, whilst the Wars we have given a Relation of afforded competent Fuel to feed it, as when after the Expiration of his Consulship he accepted of a Military Tribuneship, tho' nobody pressed it upon him: But being now out of all Employ in the Government, (1) and advanced in Years, it could not but look

(1) One would readily conclude from this Passage, that *Flaminius* was at least fourscore Years of Age, whereas at the time when he went Ambassador to *Prusias*, and insisted so strongly to have *Hannibal* put to death, he was no more than forty-four Years old. Isa Man unfit for Business at that Age, and incapable of serving his Country? The Senate sent him on that Embassy, and thought him still fit for the Management of publick Affairs. This Passage is the more surprizing in *Plutarch*, who in many Parts of his Works maintains that no Age can justify a good Man's withdrawing himself from Business, and in that very view has wrote a fine Treatise upon

look odly for a poor remainder of life, entirely unfit for Action, to strut and swell with the thoughts of Glory, and not able to contain it self, to put on the Passions of Youth. Some such Transport, 'tis thought, set him against *Hannibal*, an Action which lost him the Love and Hearts of Many. For *Hannibal* having fled his Country, first took Sanctuary with *Antiochus*; but He having been glad to strike up a Peace after the Battel in *Phrygia*, *Hannibal* was put to shift for Himself by a second Flight, and after a Ramble through many Countries, fixed at length in *Bitbynia*, proffering the Service of his Sword to *Prusias*. None at *Rome* but knew where he was; but they looked upon him at the same time with Contempt, for his little Power, and great Age, and as One whom Fortune had quite cast off. *Titus*, coming Embassador thither, (though 'tis true, he was sent from the Senate to *Prusias* upon another Errand,) yet seeing *Hannibal* resident there, it stir'd up Resentments in him to think that he was yet alive. And tho' *Prusias* used much Intercession and Intreaties in favour of him, as a Man of his Acquaintance, a Friend, a Suppliant that cast himself into his Arms for Refuge, *Titus* was not to be entreated. There was an ancient Oracle, it seems, which prophesied thus of *Hannibal's* End ;

Libyſſan Earth ſhall Hannibal incloſe.

He interpreted This to be meant of *Libya*, that is, *Africk*, and that he ſhould be buried in *Carthage*, as if he might yet expect to return and live there again, and only there to die. But there is a ſandy place in *Bi-*

upon the Queſtion if a Man in Years ought to concern himſelf in the Government? It would be a terrible thing indeed if a Man was under a Neceſſity of renouncing all publick Buſineſs, at a Time when Years have confirm'd his Prudence, and improv'd his Experience. So that *Plutarch* muſt have miſtaken the time, and makes this Embaſſy to *Prusias* many Years later than it was. It was not on Account of his Age that *Flaminius* was condemn'd for his Transport and Bitterneſs againſt *Hannibal*, but for the Cruelty and Indignity of the Action.

thynia,

thynia, bordering on the Sea, and near That a little Village call'd *Libyssa*. Hither it was *Hannibal's* chance to retire himself, and having ever from the beginning had a distrust of the easiness and ductile Nature of *Prusias*, and a fear of the *Romans*, he had long before ordered seven Vaults, as so many Outlets, to be digged in his House, leading from his Lodging, and running a great way under ground, and so many several Ways opposite to one another, but all undiscernable from without: As soon, therefore, as he heard that *Titus* had ordered him to be taken, he attempted through these Caves to make his Escape; but finding them beset with the King's Guards, he resolved upon making away with himself. Some say, that, wrapping his outward Garment about his Neck, he commanded his Servant to set his Knee against his Back-parts, and not leave twisting, and pulling of it, 'till he had quite strangled and kill'd him. But Others say, he drank Bulls-blood, after the Example of *Themistocles* and *Midas*: *Livy* writes, that he had Poyson in a readiness, which he mixt for the purpose, and that taking the Cup into his Hand, " Let us ease (says he) the *Romans* of their continual
 " dread and care, who think it long and tedious to
 " wait the Death of an Hated Old Man. Yet shall
 " not *Titus* gain a Conquest worth envying, nor a
 " Reputation equal to Those of his Predecessors,
 " who sent to caution *Pyrrhus*, an Enemy, and Con-
 " queror too, against the Poison prepared for him
 " by Traitors." Thus various are the Reports of *Hannibal's* Death: But when the News of it came to the Senators Ears, Some had an Indignation against *Titus* for it, blaming as well his Officiousness as his Cruelty; who, when there was neither Reason of State, nor other Circumstance to oblige it, but out of preposterous Affectation of Glory, and to raise himself a Name from his dead Ashes, sent him to his Grave, who, like a Bird that hangs his
 Wings,

Wings, or has moulted his Tail through Age, was let alone to live tamely.

Then began they to set out, with fresh Eulogies, the Clemency, the Courage, the Gallantry of *Scipio Africanus*; they admired him now more than ever; for when He had vanquished in *Africa*, the 'till then Invincible and Terrible *Hannibal*, He neither banished him his Country, or exacted it of his Countrymen, that they should put him into His Hands. Nay, at a Parly just before they join'd Battel, *Scipio* embrac'd him; and in the Peace made after it, he put no hard Article upon him, nor insulted over his declin'd Fortune. Report goes, that they had another Meeting again at *Ephesus*, and as they were walking together, *Hannibal* industriously took the upper-hand; *Africanus* let him alone, and kept walking on without the least Concern: Afterward they fell to talk of Generals; *Hannibal* affirming, that *Alexander* was the bravest Commander the World had ever seen, but next to Him *Pyrrhus*, and the third was himself: *Africanus*, with a gentle Smile, asked, *What would you have said, if I had never vanquished you?* O *Scipio* (says he) *I would not then have made myself the Third, but First Commander.* The Generality of Rome had *Scipio* in Veneration for these Gallantries. But they observed so wide a Disparity in this Deportment of *Titus*, that they reviled him, as one who had put his Sickle into other Mens Corn, and had laid his Hands upon dead Corps. Not but that there were Some who put a better Construction upon, and applauded the Action, who look'd upon a living *Hannibal* as Fire, which wanted only Bellows to blow it into a Flame. For when he was in the Prime and Flower of his Age, it was not his Body, it was not his Hand that struck Terror into the *Roman* Eagles, but his Head-piece, his Experience and Skill in martial Affairs, joined with an innate malice and inveterate rancour against the *Roman* Name, which Age could not impair. For the
Temper

Temper and bent of the Soul keeps to its Pole, and participates of the same Nature still: But Fortune varies her Points, and even in her greatest Declination, she tempts with new hopes of Success, all such whom Hatred and Revenge keep ready list'd for Action. And what followed not long after, made still farther to the Justification of *Titus*. For first, *Aristonicus*, the Son of a Fidler's Daughter, upon the Reputation of being the natural Son of *Eumenes*, fill'd all *Asia* with Tumults and Rebellion. Then again, *Mithridates*, after a Total Rout given him by *Sylla* and *Fimbria*, and so vast a Slaughter, as well among his prime Officers, as common Soldiers, made head again against *Lucullus*, with a puissant Army both by Sea and Land. Besides, *Hannibal* was never reduced to so contemptible a State as *Caius Marius*, for the former had something reserved to him, the Amity of a King, a Pension and Subsistence under him, a great Acquaintance which the Officers employed in the Fleet and Army of *Prusias*. Whereas the condition of *Marius* was so despicable, as to be look'd upon by *Rome* with Laughter and Contempt, whilst he wander'd about *Africa* destitute and beggarly: And yet a little after, when in their own Streets their Backs were expos'd to the Rods, and their Necks to the Ax, they prostrated themselves to the same *Marius*. So that there is nothing either Great or Little at this Moment which will hold so to all Futurity, for nothing puts an end to the mutability and vicissitude of things, but what does so to their very Being: Some therefore tell us, that *Titus* did not This of his own head, but that he was joined in Commission with *Lucius Scipio*, and that the whole Affair of the Embassy was to effect *Hannibal's* Death. But now that we find no farther Mention in History, of any thing done by *Titus*, either in point of War, or in the Administration of the Government, but that

that he died a natural Death, it is time to look upon him as he stands in comparison with *Philopœmen*.



The Comparison of T. Q. Flaminius with Philopœmen.

FIRST, if we consider the Extensiveness of the Benefits conferred by *Titus* on *Greece*, we shall find that neither *Philopœmen*, nor many braver Men than He, are able to stand in Competition with him. For They were all *Greeks* warring against *Greeks*, (1) whereas *Flaminius*, tho' himself no *Greek*, fought in defence of *Grecians*. (2) And at a time when *Philopœmen* unable to assist his Fellow-Citizens, who were closely besieged, and reduced to the last Extremity, passed over into *Crete*, then did *Titus*, by a Defeat given to *Philip* in the Heart of *Greece*, set both Them and all their Cities free. Again, if we examine into the Battels fought by each of them; *Philopœmen*, whilst he was the *Acheans* General, slew more *Grecians*, than *Titus* in aiding the *Grecians*, slew *Macedonians*. As to their Failings, Ambition was *Titus's* Weak-side, and Obstinacy *Philopœmen's*: In the Former, Anger was easily kindled; in the Other, it was as hardly quenched. For *Titus* after he had conquer'd *Philip* left him in Possession of his Royal Dignity; besides, he pardoned the *Ætolians*, and stood their Friend again: But *Philopœ-*

(1) There is in This a great Difference; indeed the *Grecian* Commanders made War against the *Greeks*, and the *Roman* Consul warred for them: But why might not the Ambition of *Rome* have some Share in these Exploits of *Flaminius*?

(2) This is another Circumstance very much in *Flaminius's* Favour: *Philopœmen* forsook his Country at a time when it stood most in need of his Presence and Assistance, to go and serve in *Crete*, whereas *Flaminius* left His on purpose to restore Liberty to *Greece*.

men, exasperated against his own Country, took from them the Contributions which the adjacent Villages paid. *Titus* was ever constant to Those he had once befriended; the Other, upon any grudge, as prone to cancel kindneses; for He who had aforetime been a Benefactor to the *Lacedemonians*, afterwards laid their Walls level with the Ground, wasted their Country, and in the end changed and destroyed the whole frame of their Government: He seems, in truth, to have needlessly thrown away his Life through Passion and Perverseness; for he fell upon the *Messenians* with an eagerness as unsuitable as unseasonable, not with that Conduct and Caution with which *Titus* led on His Men. But the many Battels he fought, the many Trophies he won, got *Philopæmen* a deeper Experience; for *Titus* decided the Matter betwixt *Philip* and Him in two Engagements, but *Philopæmen* came off victorious in Engagements without Number, (1) to All which Fortune had almost no Pretence, so much was owing to his Skill. Besides, *Titus* got his Renown by making use of the Forces of a great and flourishing State; whereas the Other acquired His under the Decline of *Greece*; so that this Man's Gallantry was owing to Himself alone; *Rome* shared in the Glory of the Other. The One had brave Men under him; and the Other made His Brave by being over them; and if the Great Actions of *Philopæmen*, which were turned against his own Countrymen the *Greeks*, will not prove him an happy or fortunate Man, they will shew the brave Man; for when all other things are equal, great Successes must be owing to a superior Virtue. He had to

(1) Fortune may more reasonably be allowed to have some Share in the Event of one or two Engagements, than She can in the Success of Many. A great Number of Victories is a sure Sign of the Capacity and Experience of the Commander: Fortune is too variable and inconstant to have them All placed to her Account.

do with two the most Warlike Nations of all Greece, the *Cretans* on the one hand, and the *Lacedæmonians* on the other; the Craftiest of them he mastered by art and subtilty, the Stoutest he made to stoop to his Valour. It may be said withal, that *Titus* having his Men armed and disciplined to his Hand, reap'd Laurels ready wreathed for him; whereas *Philopœmen* was forced to introduce a new Discipline, and Tacticks of his Own, and to new-mould and model his Soldiery; so as That which is of greatest Moment in gaining a Victory was the Invention of the Last, whilst the First only practised what was already in use. As to personal Exploits, there are Many of *Philopœmen*'s, None of *Flaminius*'s, Insomuch that one *Archedemus*, an *Ætolian*, in Rallery told him, "That whereas *Philopœmen* ran with his drawn " Sword, where he saw the *Macedonians* keep " closest locked and pressed him hardest, *Titus* stood " still, fell a praying, and with Hands stretched " out to Heavn, called to the Gods for aid." It is true, *Titus* acquitted himself excellently well, both as a Governor, and as an Embassador; but *Philopœmen* was no less serviceable and useful to the *Achæans* in the Capacity of a private Man, than in That of a Commander. For when he was General he restored the *Messenians* to their Liberty, and cleared their City from *Nabis*. But when he rescued the *Lacedæmonians*, and shut the Gates of *Sparta* against the General *Diophanes* and *Titus*, who would have entered it, he was then but a private Person. He had a Nature so adapted and cut out for Empire and Command, that, when occasion serv'd, or the Publick Good required it, (1) he knew how to

(1) It was governing the Laws and singular; and this Example in indeed when he took the Command upon him without waiting *Philopœmen*, if followed at Random, may be attended with very 'till it was delegated to him by the dangerous and fatal Consequences. People. Such occasions are rare

govern the Laws, and would not always suffer himself to be governed by Them; for he waited not the Formality of being elected into Command by the Governed, but would confer a Command upon Himself, and expect to be served if the Case required it; believing on such occasions, Him to be truly the General who consulted and understood their Interests, not who was chosen to the Employment. In fine, the Equity, Clemency, and Humanity of *Titus* towards the *Grecians*, speak a Great and Generous Nature in him; but the Actions of *Philopæmen*, full of Courage, and forward to assert his Country's Liberty against the *Romans*, carry something Greater in them. (1) For it is not a Task of that difficulty, to oblige the Distressed, as it is to bear up against, and adventure angring the Powerful. To conclude, since it is hard to draw from the Premises the true difference of their Merits, and to Which a Preference is due; consider, Reader, whether we may seem to judge amiss betwixt them, (2) if we let this *Grecian* Hero bear away the Crown for Experience in Military Affairs, and for Skill in commanding an Army, and the *Roman* for Justice and Clemency.

(1) This is most certain. That Spirit of Constancy and Resolution which is shewn upon Occasion, and exercised against the most Potent, in Opposition to their injurious Enterprizes and Encroachments; is a thousand times more glorious and honourable than that Mercy and Humanity which is extended to the Weak and Unfortunate. One is the Property of a Man, the Other of a Hero.

(2) This is a fine Determination. *Plutarch* does not take up-

on him to make any formal decision between these two great Men, but leaves the Reader to judge for Himself. For my Part I confess the Crown of Justice and Clemency appears of greater Worth, and much more to be desired, than That of Experience in military Affairs. One is to be worn only on high Days, perhaps not above three or four times in a Man's whole Life, whereas the Other is an Ornament for every day, and is too powerful even for Death it self.

The End of the Third Volume.



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